Inland Seas



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The Ghost Port of Milan and a Druid Moon

By Wallace B. White

PART I

The following article is based on extensive research in contemporary sources by the author, who, it will be recalled, contributed "Trailing Rogers' Rangers through the Firelands" to this year's Spring and Summer issues of Inland Seas. Regarding his sources, Mr. White says, "Data on ships was checked with the Library of Congress; data regarding wrecks of Milan built boats and the Balloon Ascension with the Cleveland Public Library. I used extensive files of the Sandusky Clarion, at the Sandusky Public Library; the Norwalk Experiment at the Norwalk Public Library; and the Milan Tribune, at the Milan Public Library. The Historical Collections of Ohio, by Henry Howe, 1886 edition, and the History of Milan, by James Ryan were used to obtain leads. For much of the material concerning the trek of the wheat wagons, I am indebted to old letters of Hamilton Colton and Seneca Allen; also to later accounts of Carlos Colton which appeared in the Toledo Commercial from 1865 to around 1876."

-The Editor.

valuation sixteen hundred dollars!"

The words, felt rather than heard, strike out of the darkness like the bark of a top sergeant calling roll.

From our dew-dampened position at the edge of the steep embankment just north of the Edison birthplace, we turn our eyes westward in the direction of Highway 250 and the Wheeling-Lake Erie depot at Milan, Ohio.

We are looking across what, 100 years ago, was the old waterfront of Milan when it was a bona fide port of Lake Erie by virtue of a four-mile navigable stretch of the Huron river and a three-mile ships' canal. For 25 years, the span of a generation, lake-going schooners of the average size for that day were towed up the river and the canal to dock at Milan warehouses.

From July 4th, 1839,¹ when the canal opened, to November 28th, 1864, when Francis G. Lockwood, as Port Collector for the Milan Canal Company,² wrote "end of 1864" in his book of manifests, cargoes came in and went out of the old port. From '64 to the end of '67, the old canal was still used to float newly constructed schooners down to the mouth of the Huron river and Lake Erie. Then, in March of 1868, the dam just below the covered bridge at Milan went out in a flood.³ This caused the canal to run dry, and by this time the Canal Company was in such financial straits that the dam was never rebuilt.

Today, it is difficult to trace the old canal bed for its entire length. The Wheeling-Lake Erie tracks have obliterated most of it and there are few persons living who can truthfully say that they remember a time when ships rode upon this unique waterway that made a boomtown of Milan for a quarter of a century and a bust-town of the village for three-quarters of a century more.

To the west, in the direction in which we are looking, lay the head of the old Canal Basin. Present Highway 250 from Sandusky runs along the top of the "Embankment" today, where formerly old Union Street led to the now nearly forgotten toll houses and to the old covered bridge. As we gaze over the site of the old water front, a light mask of fog gathers on the Huron river bottoms. Now it wavers, or appears to waver, just east of where the highway crosses the Wheeling-Lake Erie tracks.

"Warehouse of Thomas I. Butman — Lot 65 — assessed valuation thirty-six hundred and twenty dollars!" ⁴

There appears to be a very distinct movement of mist, now, near the railroad crossing, but to the east of the first wavering. Shadows, not noticed before, seem to shape themselves into indistinct forms.

"Warehouse of Nathan Jenkins — Lot 66 — assessed valuation thirty-eight hundred and twenty dollars!"

^{1.} Records of the Town of Milan, Milan Canal Company Records.

^{2.} Records of the Port Collector of Milan.

^{3.} Carlos Colton in the Toledo Commercial, March 21, 1868.

^{4.} Data on ownership and location of warehouses from tax rolls of the Town of Milan, Special Canal assessments.

This time there is no stirring of mist. A gaunt, three-story hulk of a building already occupies the spot from which such movement might come. Its broad, whip-sawed clapboards of unpainted white-wood hang like tatters from its sturdy but ancient frame. In the silence of the darkness, one of its weathered timbers snaps huskily, as though a long unused throat had answered, "Here!"

The creepy coincidence startles us. That bleak old ruin speak? Humbug! In the time of Dickens, perhaps...he appreciated the capabilities of old buildings in matters occult... but to a skeptical modern generation? Nonsense! Some one is only trying to be spooky...yet...

There is something decidedly wrong with the lighting effects which fall upon the whole picture.

The night has a Druid moon. Its gibbous curve is bent with age. At 2:00 A. M. it has scarcely crept a scant one third of its journey to the west. As one observes it, one notices a singular derangement. The senescent cresent presents its convexity to the west! On such a night, with such a moon . . .

Nathan Jenkins' old warehouse certainly appears suddenly to have taken on the bloom of youth. It does not look a day older than it did in 1847, when it could point proudly to seven years of service to the community, and to Nathan Jenkins — particularly to Nathan Jenkins. It helped to pay for that fine old home on West Front street, the tall white columns of which rise so majestically to meet the overhanging roof.

Jenkins began that home when he got contracts for digging the old Milan Canal, back around 1835-36. It was at this time, also, that he moved the little old false-fronted store in which he had sold general merchandise since 1821, from the front of his business lot (Fraction 1 of Lot 49), to the rear, erecting in its place a two-story brick "mansion." It was the fashion of the day to call one's store by such a name. This building had a 60-foot frontage on what is now Front Street (but was then Main), at its intersection with present-day Main Street (then Norwalk Avenue). It was located two blocks eastward of his home which is still standing. The "mansion" was successively a general store, a tavern with a shoe store at one end, then a general store again before it burned in 1853.

At this time, business on the canal not being what it had been, Jenkins left town and sold his business lot to Valentine Fries, who had been selling

groceries and liquor in the little old store at the rear. Fries moved the old building back to its former position, and Martin Harter, his brother-in-law, took it over for his pharmacy. It is a drugstore today. But events are turning our attention back toward the old Canal Basin.

"Warehouse of Frederick W. Fowler — Lot 67 — assessed valuation seven hundred and forty dollars!"

The shade of a much smaller warehouse now materializes. What is taking place becomes more apparent every moment. Just as Germelshausen came back once every century for its single day in the sun before sinking again into marshy lake so, once in a Druid moon, does old Milan arise at night for those who have the eyes to behold it. If only we could invoke the shade of old Frederick, himself, as well as his warehouse!

As a personable young man, he came to the Firelands in 1810, together with a band of other young blades recruited by David Abbott to aid him in getting a settlement ready for those hardy souls who might attempt to find homes in the wilds of northern Ohio. Old Avery, near Fries Landing, the first county-seat of Huron County, was the spot they were to develop.

Fowler helped to chain the first road, erect the first frame building, and had a hand in several other firsts in the Firelands. He also was Deputy Sheriff, Constable, and acting Bailiff at the first criminal trial held in this early political unit. This was the famous case in which the prisoner was taken out of jail and the jury put in, so that they might deliberate on the verdict in greater seclusion. Then, at the end of less than half an hour, the jury ran off, while the prisoner remained, doubtless greatly bewildered by all these strange doings of frontier justice.

Old Avery (do not confuse it with the modern village of that name two miles to the westward) lost the county-seat to Norwalk in a political shuffle, in 1817 and gave up the ghost two years later, in 1819. Fowler came to Milan and became "mine host" for one of the best known taverns in northern Ohio. It stood on the bluff above the Huron river at what is today the intersection of West Front and Main streets. Across Main from it was the Jenkins' store. Exchange Inn was the name the old tavern went by because the first stage line in the Firelands changed horses here on the route between Sandusky, Huron and Columbus. (This line was run by Cyrus W. Marsh, proprietor of the Steamboat

Hotel at Sandusky. It began operation in 1822 and ceased about 1830.) The old stable where post horses were kept is still standing. It was located just behind Fowler's Exchange Inn. The square, box-like outline of the old inn and the long, low barn may readily be discerned in the old steel engraving of Milan, published by Henry Howe in 1846 in his Historical Collections of Ohio.

Daniel Harkness, one-time oil speculator who later lived at Bellevue, was born at this old inn in 1822. His mother, Elizabeth (Morrison) Harkness, later married Reverend Isaac Flagler following the death of her first husband, Dr. Daniel Harkness, and became the mother of Henry Flagler, Standard Oil baron and railroad magnate, who developed the East Coast of Florida.

The Milan Canal Company⁵ also, was born in this old inn, for promoters of the project held their meetings here from 1823 to 1826, at which time they began meeting at Fowler's home. This structure, built about 1825, stood at the far western end of Bank street on the north side and is owned, today, by Paul Delamatre and his wife Yolanda. It, too, can be readily identified in the old engraving.

There is a huge fireplace, large enough to roast two pigs, in the basement and built into it, in a manner best known to Frederick himself, is a bake-oven and smoke-room. The entire unit covers an area equal to a moderately sized room. Fowler liked the more rudimentary luxuries of life. As Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Huron County (circa 1830), he was "... the Justice, in fair round belly with good capon lin'd... full of wise saws and modern instances."

Chaucer, too, might have delighted in him, for Frederick Fowler had a fund of delightful stories, both actual events of earlier days and his own home-spun concoctions, that were as heady as his liquor, which was never watered.

But the Druid moon creeps inexorably forward.

"Warehouse of Smith & Walker — Lots 68 and 69 — assessed value forty-eight hundred and forty dollars!"

A huge, three-story bulk looms in the shadow. It is placed broadside to the Canal Basin and hangs upon the waterfront as incongruously

^{5.} Minutes of the Town Council of Milan, vol. 1.

as a pair of broad-beamed Dutchman's britches on a washline among a parcel of narrow-gauged Yankee pantaloons.

A growing group of warehouses is now becoming apparent at the head of the old Canal Basin. They are emerging out of the night exactly as the ghostly outlines of reality take shape in the processing of a photographic negative.

"Second warehouse of Smith & Walker — Lot 70 — assessed at eight hundred dollars!"

This structure would appear an afterthought born of economic expediency. John Smith was the tanner and his tan-yard was located at the corner of East Front street and Center (site of Milan Auto Supply today). In Howe's old engraving the frame structure which was the office building of the yard shows slightly to the left of the Hamilton store. First classes of the old Huron Institute⁶ were held here in 1832, before the "old Normal School" was completed. The brick building which now occupies the site was built in 1849, when Smith sold to Mark Knowlton. The second Smith & Walker warehouse was used for the shipment of hides and wool, whereas their first handled wheat almost exclusively.

"Warehouse of Hamilton Colton — Lot 71 — assessed valuation eight hundred dollars!"

This modest structure has a background. It was one of two warehouses originally built at old Abbottsford (Fries Landing) and moved to Milan when the canal opened. It and the old structure which we shall see presently belonging to Ralph and George Lockwood were both moved from the head of navigation for the Huron River. They were built in 1834.⁷

Today, Abbotsford is an aging plat in the Huron County Recorders office at Norwalk. Now and then an old deed or record contains the name. Dinsmore Wheeler plows regularly where its business and residential streets were located. Only one person, Sheldon Colton, is on record as having been born there. But other warehouses are materializing along the old Canal Basin.

^{6.} Minutes of the Trustees of Huron Institute.

^{7.} Letters of Hamilton Colton.

On Lots 72 and 73, immediately east of the Colton warehouse, two structures take form. They are the warehouses of Daniel and Thomas Hamilton. These brothers, in 1847, also owned the large brick store which stands out so prominently in Howe's engraving at the left of the flag pole. The store occupies the corner of present-day Front and Park streets and the Erie County United Bank is in the building today. This three-story landmark, recently restored by the bank, was built in 1826 by Needham Standart and Daniel Hamilton. From 1843 to 1851, when it suspended publication, the Milan *Tribune* (Clark Waggoner, editor and publisher), was printed in the third story of this building.

Daniel and Thomas Hamilton also owned considerable real estate in and around Milan which was subject to protracted litigation during the flurry of 1847, when many, including Hamilton Colton, lost heavily or went into bankruptcy as a result of a sudden crash in the wheat market. The two Canal Basin warehouses of the Hamiltons had an assessed valuation of \$2,000 and \$900 respectively.

To the east of their structures is a gap, where Center Street narrows down to a one-rod alley and ends at the Canal Basin. Then, on Lots 74 and 75, are located the two warehouses of George and Ralph Lockwood. The one on Lot 74 has an assessed valuation of 700 dollars and is the building which together with the Colton warehouse, was moved from old Abbottsford. This structure is the only one along the canal having a rope-walk, where rope was made for the 75 or more vessels built in the old Milan shipyards, just across the Canal Basin.

The other Lockwood structure had an assessed valuation of \$3,250. In later years, after the canal was abandoned, it was remodeled into a canning factory. With the years, this too passed, and today, all that remains of the building is the crumbling foundation.

On Lots 76 and 77, the shade of the old double warehouse of Stephen Young and Company materializes. It was assessed at \$3,150.

Still farther east, on Lots 78 and 79, another small warehouse belonging to Daniel and Thomas Hamilton takes form and beside it is a smaller building. The first is assessed at \$2,500 and the second at \$450.

The last warehouse in the line, in the year 1847, was that of A. & J. S. McClure. Its assessed valuation was \$2,900.

A rapid comparison of the above enumeration of the old warehouses with Howe's old engraving will show that the list does not coincide with

the artist's depiction of them. However, it is reasonable to suppose that the tax assessor was more accurate than the artist, although both may have shaded actual facts somewhat for reasons best known to themselves. Be that as it may, the picture which is now developing before our eyes is doubtless, a fairly accurate one.

Behind the row of old warehouses, we begin to define a dusty street, 66 feet wide (four rods on the old plat). This is old Water Street, and today one is scarcely able to trace its outline in the rank growth of trees and bushes which have overgrown nearly all of the old waterfront. A short spur of sidetrack marks its beginning, but is soon lost.

In 1847, more than two million dollars worth of grain, merchandise and other commodities went into and out of the old Port of Milan over this road.⁸

Tonight ghostly Water street is churned with spectral traffic. Four and six-horse wagons, old Conestogas of the prairie schooner type, swirl about the warehouses in a flood stream which extends back up the hill, through Milan, out old Norwalk Avenue (present-day Main Street), and far to the south along the old Milan-Richland Plank Road (modern Highway 601) to Blue Fly Inn on the Medina Road (Route 18). More than 600 wagons, lead horses' heads against the tail-gate of the vehicle in front, are in that line. For days it will not diminish. Moving in slow, steady progression its numbers will be recruited by the arrival of new wagons from twelve counties. East from Lorain and Medina; south from an area extending as far as Columbus; and west from the tier extending from Wyandot and Seneca to Union the grain wagons will come trickling in from tributary routes to swell the Plank Road traffic to a noisy flood.

Inns along the routes will reap a harvest. The Blue Fly, the White Fox, Angell's at Angell's Corners (Olena), hundreds of old structures which, today, are either homes or obliterated. At night, hundreds of campfires will dot the roads. Around them are the men, with here and there a sprinkling of women and children, who either could not or would not pay the price of a night's lodging for man and beast. Colorful does not adequately describe the pageant of the countryside when the wheat came in.

^{8.} Records of the Port Collector and the Milan Tribune.

From 35 to 50 thousand bushels of wheat a day will pour into Milan warehouses and be loaded directly on vessels to be shipped to Detroit, Buffalo, Oswego, and numerous other ports of the Great Lakes. More wheat will be ground into flour at the mill of Ebenezer Merry and shipped in barrels to marvelously growing Chicago, South Port (Kenosha), Racine, Milwaukee, and other, from the point of view of the times, far western ports.

The tie between Milwaukee and Milan is not without certain strength. Bryon Kilbourne, who founded that portion of Milwaukee on the west bank of the Milwaukee river, was raised on a farm between Berlin Heights and Berlinville.

There is a tradition in Berlin Township (Erie County, Ohio) that the first buildings in Kilbourntown (modern Milwaukee business district west of the river), were built of lumber shipped from around Berlin Heights. This may well have been the case. Nelson Olin, who helped to build the first structures in that Wisconsin metropolis, states in his Reminiscences of Milwaukee in 1835-36 (The Wisconsin Magazine of History, March 1930, vol. XIII, no. 3, page 210) that local Milwaukee lumber at that time "was the worst sawed lumber I ever saw put into a building." He also states that he hauled lumber from the beach of the lake, which had been shipped in (Same article, page 215). It may be a fact that early lumber for Milwaukee buildings did come from Ohio. Kilbourne worked on the Milan Canal as an engineer before going to Milwaukee, probably around 1833 or 1834.

But back to the Milan canal and the year 1847.

917,800 bushels of wheat were loaded in schooners and shipped down the canal from Milan that season. An old Conestoga wheat wagon held one hundred bushels, or three ton of grain. Not all the farmers had Conestogas. Many wagons were smaller. But calculating, for the sake of simplicity, that each wagon held one hundred bushels means that at least 9,178 wagons came into Milan. One can safely calculate two men to a wagon — a minimum, considering road conditions in that early day. That is between eighteen and nineteen thousand men of the wild old frontier tossed into a town of between thirteen and fourteen hundred inhabitants during a short shipping season. Few towns of similar size ever got painted red with equal thoroughness.

A TABLE OF MILAN EXPORTS^a 1846-1848

1846

Commodity	Amount	Value
Wheat (bu)	650,259	\$492,671.65
Corn (bu)	17,844	5,534.23
Oats (bu)	<u> </u>	
Ashes (bbl)	1,521	7,432.50
Pork (bbl)	4,459	26,352.90
Flour (bbl)	1,257	6,128.62
Wool (lbs)	201,876	41,375.20
Lumber (bdft)	640,000	7,199.00
Staves (no)	515,000	6,165.00
High Wines (bbl)	348	18,298.00
Clover Seed (bbl)	1,252	11,301.00
Timothy Seed (bbl)	88	325.65
Flax Seed (bbl)	116	198.40
Grind Stone (lbs)	42,889	826.00
Butter (keg)	843	4,924.60
	1847	
Commodity	Amount	Value
Wheat (bu)	917,800	\$880,942.81
Corn (bu)	137,935	62,830.76
Oats (bu)	48,513	13,351.36
Ashes (bbl)	1,136	5,483.60
Pork (bbl)	3,385	21,310.49
Flour (bbl)	7,182	39,287.86
Wool (lbs)	180,551	37,113.92
Lumber (bdft)	3,303,300 ^b	36,352.00
Staves (no)	1,005,000	12,562.50
High Wines (bbl)	451	25,060.50
Clover Seed (bbl)	972	11,093.88
Timothy Seed (bbl)	286	1,444.46
Flax Seed (bbl)	623	1,197.55
Grind Stone (lbs)	112,996	2,097.88
Butter (keg)	1,347	8,082.16

Commodity	Amount	Value
Wheat (bu)	417,917	\$298,571.16
Corn (bu)	115,418	33,462.54
Oats (bu)	80,616	22,441.17
Ashes (bbl)	1,044	5,117.40
Pork (bbl)	5,360	31,618.72
Flour (bbl)	1,421	7,084.91
Wool (lbs)	222,275	43,925.07
Lumber (bdft)	2,340,000	25,753.00
Staves (no)	1,316,029	16,450.00
High Wines (bbl)	1,008	56,480.00
Clover Seed (bbl)	1,440	12,580.11
Timothy Seed (bbl)	161	520.67
Flax Seed (bbl)	1,425	2,763.95
Grind Stone (lbs)	872,315	15,446.30
Butter (keg)	1,038	5,749.48

- a. This is a list of the chief commodities of export through the Port of Milan for a three-year period, compiled from records of Port Collectors manifests and checked against published reports in the Milan *Tribune* over Port Collector's signature. Other items, not listed, will add about a tenth of the value for any certain year. For example, total exports for the year 1847 were about one million and a quarter in value. Imports (not tabulated here) amounted to about three quarters of a million.
- b. The figure given for lumber exports may seem high, but it must be remembered that Ohio had 2,883 sawmills in the 1840 census. Homer Beattie, Norwalk, Ohio, who has made a study of lumber production and practices in the Firelands, and Albert Holzhauser, Berlinville, Ohio, who has located many of the early mill sites, both assert that there were at least 68 sawmills in Huron and Erie counties around the year 1847. The item "lumber" in the above tables refers chiefly to timbers and dimensional lumber, rather than "inch stuff" or even "two by fours." Many white oak timbers from Milan were sent to shipyards at Huron, Vermilion, and Cleveland. Keels in early lake ships might range up to 85 and 90 feet long and be from 15 inches to two feet square. These were squared with a broadaxe or adz. These and other sizeable timbers, plus heavy planking, would run rapidly into thousands of board feet. Moreover, Ohio was third in lumber production among the states of the Union in the 1840's. Wisconsin and Michigan timber had not yet come on to the market in any quantity. The splendid Ohio stands of hardwood are difficult to imagine today.

(To be continued)



Early Navigation Along the Saginaw

By WILLIAM J. TARRANT

I ONG BEFORE the white man's schooners ever graced the waters of the Saginaw, the river had been a veritable super-highway carrying the fragile birch canoes of the Ojibways and the Sauks. From the Tittabawassee, the Shiawassee, and the Cass, the red men came into the Saginaw for game and fish and friendly meeting with their brothers, and sometimes to war and kill in anticipation of a greater share in the wealth of the valley.

As early as 1828 startled Indian eyes watched the thirty ton schooner Savage tack its way up the river to take on a cargo of furs for the American Fur Company. To the few settlers along the river, this first vessel was a welcome sight, for she represented their only contact with the East. Never could a ship today command the attention the Savage did in her day, for she made only two trips each season and at that was easily able to carry all the provisions needed along the river. Her cargo was flour, pork, and whiskey. The return cargo was furs. Her inbound cargo was usually in the proportion of four barrels of whiskey, two barrels of flour, and one barrel of pork. The settlers used to stand around the dock and wonder what would be done with all that pork and flour.

The river was not an easy one for even the shallow draft Savage to navigate. Its numerous bayous, shoals, and "middlegrounds" made a fine proving ground to test the sturdiness of the vessel. Even in later years, had it not been for the skillful "appletree" navigating of the skippers, Saginaw might not have grown into the important place it occupied during the great lumber era, and Saginawians would not now be able to see great bulk freighters at the docks.

As settlers became more numerous, the little schooner Mary, with a Captain Wilson in command, helped carry on commerce between Saginaw and Detroit. The Mary met an early end, however. She was wrecked, a total loss, in the fall of 1836.

Indicative of the slow development of the Saginaw Valley before the lumber days, the first steamship to arrive at Saginaw made its appearance

eighteen years after steampower was introduced on the lakes. This first steamer was the little sixteen ton Governor Marcy. Norman Little, who more than any other man, might be called the "father of Saginaw," chartered the Governor Marcy for the firm of Mackie, Oakley, and Jennison of New York, who were engaged in the enterprise of "building up" Saginaw City. The little steamship served the people of the town well. She kept a nearly-regular schedule between Saginaw City and Buffalo for several years, bringing in new settlers and carrying away those who had become discouraged trying to find a living in the swamps along the river. Many more people came than departed, however, and Saginaw City began to blossom into a busy place.

In 1837 Nelson Smith (brother-in-law of Norman Little), built a seventy ton schooner beside the river and christened her the *Julia Smith*, to meet an ever increasing shipping demand. She served her purpose well as she was a staunch ship, built of the best timbers the valley afforded, and planked with strong oak. Loaded, she drew four and one-half feet of water. Her construction was directed by a Captain Lock of St. Clair, who also served as her first master. Captain Lock lost his life when he was swept overboard on Lake St. Clair, during a severe storm in 1857, seven years after the vessel had been removed from regular Saginaw trade. Other ships quickly followed the *Julia Smith*. The schooner *North American*, and the schooner *Richmond* were both built in 1837, the *Richmond* later being wrecked on the Canadian shore of Lake Huron.

In the years to follow, Saginaw City became an important ship-building center. The Buena Vista was the first steamship built along the river. She was launched in 1848, on a great day of celebration. Local Indian "Greats" swarmed over the vessel, and whiskey flowed like water in the main saloon on the launching day. Slowly, the vessel slipped down the soaped ways, and soon the steam head was up. The huge stern wheel began to turn and the ship was under way for her trial run. The Indians, who were too busy drinking to know the ship had slid into the water, now stood on the deck in utter dismay. Never had they seen such a churning of water, and never had they seen such a big "canoe." When the Buena Vista tied up, the Indians were glad to get on solid ground.

The Buena Vista became a familiar part of the local picture, hauling farm produce to the mouth of the river, and running other errands involving water travel. Her end came when a committee of men from the nearby community of St. Charles travelled to Saginaw City to determine if she might not be able to navigate the series of small rivers connecting St. Charles with Saginaw City, thereby making it possible to move farm produce to a port where larger ships could take it to more profitable markets. The owners of the Buena Vista, apparently feeling quite reckless that day, decided there was no time like the present to try to get the ship to St. Charles. After loading a supply of whiskey, and nearly all the male townsfolk, the steamer set out through the treacherous waters, at times finding it almost impossible to make the short turns around the bends in the stream. Soon her bottom was dragging in the soft mud and before long her boiler suction line was plugged. This went unnoticed in the gaiety until lead packing began running from many steam line joints. The engine seemed to be running on nothing but super-heated air from the boiler, which by now was showing badly warped plates. The chief engineer thought he could remedy the situation by removing the mud from the suction line, and walked along beside the ship, poking a stick into the suction port, trying to dislodge the mud. Fortunately he was unsuccessful. An explosion caused from water running into the red-hot boiler would have spelled real tragedy for the young town.

The growth of the communities along the Saginaw during the lumber years was phenomenal. Emerging finally was the consolidation of Saginaw City and East Saginaw to become the city of Saginaw, and Bay City, which in her early days was known as lower Saginaw. Smaller villages which later came into being are Carrollton and Zilwaukee near Saginaw, and Essexville, near Bay City, at the mouth of the river. With the times, the ships' cargoes have changed. Coal, stone, petroleum products, and pig iron comprise most of the incoming bulk, while some scrap iron is shipped out.

The good oak timber once prized by ship builders all over is no longer shipped out, not alone because wooden ships are no longer built, but because long before the end of the wooden ship era, this valuable timber had all been cut.



Fall Sailing On The Lakes

So GRADUALLY that one hardly noticed it the Great Lakes have changed from their attractive summer blues and greens to a sullen slattern's gray, as if they knew there was dirty work to be done and wanted to be dressed for it.

Roaring northwesters rip and tear at the lakes' vitals habitually at this time of year so, it appears, they don their drab uniforms, ready for come what may.

While people ashore draw their chairs closer to the fireside these raw evenings, to eat apples and popcorn and read (at least they used to read in pre-television days), the block-long freighters push steadily on, hurrying to complete their fall harvest of grain and iron ore before ice locks them up for the winter.

Sometimes the more thoughtful persons of those who live near a lake sigh contentedly and breathe a prayer of thanks that the writhing waters mean nothing more to them than a reminder of their own comfortable situation ashore.

Well they might. The winds cut through the very marrow of the men on shipboard, but lines must be handled and hatches removed or battened down. The air sometimes is so fresh that even fresh air fiends among the men are likely to rejoice in the opportunity of taking deep breaths of the cabins' steam-heated air.

Fog and snow and storms and currents plague the navigators, heavy seas make the long walk from one end of the ship to the other an adventure in itself, freezing iron ore and coal make loading difficult and cause delays. Atmospheric gremlins get into the radio telephones and stir up communication difficulties.

But there are compensations, too. The cabins are snug and cozy. Radios and televisions offer diversion. There are books, papers and magazines, and card games and bull sessions.

The galley becomes a club at midnight. The food is unexcelled, the conversation colorful and stimulating, ranging from the ribald and reminiscent to the scientific and the settlement of world problems.

The camaraderie in the pilot house, which seems to be the main target of whatever nature can devise to menace a sailor, is not noisy but it is there. Coffee is consumed by the gallon.

As the season draws to a close and fewer ships are afloat the messages emerging from the ship-to-shore phone assume a greater importance.

The skipper from another freighter, many miles away, seems happy to know that his is not the only vessel still at work. He passes on whatever information he has that might prove helpful to other ships.

But there is also compensation of a more realistic sort. Sailors receive a bonus for sticking to their ships to the end of the season, and are more assured of obtaining a berth the next spring if they do not quit their posts the moment the going gets rough.

—BERTRAM B. LEWIS in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, November 12, 1950.



The Location of British Fort Sandusky*

By Homer M. Beattie

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE once said "All history is a lie." He must have had the history of the British Fort Sandusky in mind. For a hundred years, controversy has raged over its location. It has been variously placed all the way from the mouth of Pipe Creek to Fremont, in Ohio.

One writer even goes so far as to locate it on the Marblehead Peninsula near Port Clinton and then after badly confusing the data by unwarranted assumptions winds up by twice showing a sketch of De Léry's French Fort Sandusky and the second time indexing it in the book—"Fort Stephenson as sketched by De Léry"—thereby not only confusing two separate forts but confusing Pontiac's War of 1763 with the War of 1812. Fort Stephenson was sometimes called Fort Sandusky. Henry Howe in his Historical Collections of Ohio does so. But De Léry who records French Fort Sandusky on the Marblehead Peninsula had been dead thirteen years when Fort Stephenson was built, and Howe's text and sketches leave no room for any confusion as to the fact he means Fort Stephenson of the War of 1812.

We shall examine a few documents in an effort to straighten this out, but first here again is the usual story about British Fort Sandusky.

It is usually told that in 1745 the Huron Chief Nicolas gave English traders permission to build a fort on Sandusky Bay, and that in 1748, following his defeat by the French, he burned this fort. The story continues that in 1750 the British rebuilt the fort, that it was "usurped by the French in 1751," fell into disuse, was rebuilt by the British in 1761 and was destroyed May 16th, 1763, with the entire garrison slaughtered except Ensign Pauli, the commandant. This version not only garbles facts but jumps at the entirely unwarranted conclusion that three forts stood at the same place.

^{*} Destroyed May 16, 1763 during Pontiac's war.

The discovery of the site of British Fort Sandusky was entirely by accident. In the winter of 1949 the author and W. B. White, of Milan, Ohio, set out to draw a map of the Firelands from the original survey notes of Maxfield Ludlow and Almon Ruggles made in 1808. These notes are partly in the Museum of The Firelands Historical Society and partly in the Huron County Recorder's Office in Fire-Sufferers Book No. 1, at Norwalk, Ohio. We intended to spot locate on our map the two hundred odd settlers' cabins located on the Firelands prior to the War of 1812. As the map developed, instead of coming forward from 1808, we were relentlessly pushed backward by the surveyors' notes. Here, for instance, was the noted Detroit-Fort Pitt trail - here, John Flammand's1 trading post about one and a half miles up the Huron River from Lake Erie — established so far as we know in 1804 or 1805. Here was the trail to the Moravian village at present day Milan, not to be confused with Zeisberger's New Salem, about three miles farther down the Huron River, which was abandoned in 1790. Here was Chief Ogontz's cabin; all these things located by two skilled surveyors and named in the notes.

In platting the south shore of Sandusky Bay we made a startling discovery. Almon Ruggles, who traversed the Bay, started at a point one and three quarters miles east of the mouth of Sandusky Bay. A previous survey made in 1806 had ended at that point. He traversed the south shore of the bay, recording the mouth of Pipe Creek, and located the Indian landing place and a portage from Sandusky Bay to Pipe Creek across a narrow neck of land. Note this portage, for it has been completely ignored or more commonly confused with the portage across the Marblehead Peninsula on the north side of Sandusky Bay.

At a point 492.23 surveyors' chains or 6.15 miles from his starting point, Ruggles records this item in his notes, "North 68 degrees West 34.83 chains to a large white Oak marked XII, west of the Old Fort." This puts him at a point in the present day town of Venice in Erie County, and raises the question "What Old Fort?" Certainly not an Indian Fort, for Ruggles specifically so designates such, as in the case of the Indian mounds on the edge of Norwalk, which he records in his notes as "Indian Fort."

^{1.} The name also appears as Flemond, Flemoned and Fleming.

Now let us examine a few documents.

First we have the notes and maps of Chaussegros De Léry dated 1754 and 1755. He tells of his journey in 1754 into Sandusky Bay which in common with other early explorers he calls "Sandusky Lake." He says "I thought some trace must remain of the fort built by the French in 1751 and later abandoned. To find it I followed the northern coast of said Lake (Sandusky Bay) which runs east and west. After covering about three leagues I perceived a clearing where I landed at noon and found the remains of the old Fort." Note that De Léry says definitely "built by the French" (not the English) in 1751 — not 1750. And note, for this is vital, De Léry's Old Fort is on the north shore of Sandusky Bay whereas Ruggles' Old Fort is on the south shore of the Bay. Two separate and distinct forts at two different locations! De Léry leaves us a sketch of the French Fort Sandusky, giving dimensions and its relationship to the portage across the Peninsula.

In his journal of 1755 he leaves us a sketch of the mouth of Pipe Creek and an Indian landing place and portage which coincides with the Indian landing place recorded by Ruggles in 1808, on the South shore of Sandusky Bay.

A comparison of De Léry's sketches will show definitely that there are two separate and distinct portages, one on the north shore of the bay and one on the south shore. The arrows indicating north on his maps rule out any confusion here, and his text, if carefully read, leaves no room for doubt. He also records an Indian village in ruins on the west bank of Pipe Creek to which he says Chief Nicolas and his followers fled following their defeat by the French. Was this the Fort Sandusky of Chief Nicolas? It looks plausible but this item needs more research, and may show that Chief Nicolas' Fort Sandusky was merely a palisaded Indian village. De Léry in his 1755 notes leaves an account of the Indian use of a water passage from Sandusky Bay to Lake Erie through the former marsh at the foot of Cedar Point. This water passage was known to Firelands pioneers as the Black Channel. Cedar Point at times was and is an island. Evidently it was in 1755 and surely in 1808, for Almon Ruggles so records it. He did not survey it as part of the Firelands tract — at least in his survey of 1808. The use of this Black Channel was doubtless the reason for the Indian Landing Place and Portage

near Pipe Creek, recorded by both De Léry and Ruggles, as it kept canoes in quiet water rather than in the open Lake.

Second. An examination of some records in the Pennsylvania Archives reveals much information concerning Ruggles' Old Fort. Here is a very definite and interesting order:

Orders for Lt. Elias Meyer R. A. R. from Col. Henry Bouquet

Fort Pitt August 12th, 1761

Sir:

You are hereby directed to take your command and march tomorrow, thirteen August, a detachment of one Sub. Two Serj. Two corp and Thirty Private of the first Batt R. A. R. and proceed with convenient Dispatch to Sandusky Lake on the South side of which² and at the most convenient place you are to build a small Block-house with a Pallisade round it, to serve as a halting place for our partys going and coming to and from Detroit.

Note that Bouquet's orders definitely say the south side of the lake as he calls the Bay.

Next, we have the map of Captain Thomas Hutchins dated 1764. If Hutchins was not the father of our modern method of subdividing the public lands, he was, at least, one of the first to use it. Later he was Surveyor General of the United States, a reliable and competent witness. Hutchins' map definitely locates British Fort Sandusky on the south shore of Sandusky Bay. His table of distances from Fort Pitt to Fort Sandusky also checks to the spot where Ruggles found the "Old Fort," in 1808.

William Darlington in his notes to Christopher Gist's *Journal* says, "In the latter part of 1761, the British erected a block house on the south shore of Sandusky Bay," and gives Colonel Bouquet's letter to General Amherst December 2, 1761 as authority for the statement.

Darlington also says, "Its location (i.e. the block-house) is correctly marked on the map of Thos. Hutchins of 1778 and also on his map of the Bouquet Expedition of 1764." Further on he says that Hutchins visited British Fort Sandusky in 1762 and confirms the statement by reference to Bouquet's letter to Ensign Pauli dated April 3rd, 1762 and published in the Philadelphia Gazette of April 27th, 1791. Pauli's letters

^{2.} Italics are the Author's.

to Bouquet also substantiate the English fort as being on the South shore of Sandusky Bay.

Now let us examine some most pertinent evidence in the Court House at Norwalk, Ohio, in the shape of public records, maps, deeds and legal documents officially rcorded, mostly under oath.

In 1815 while the Firelands were all Huron County and the County seat was at Old Avery, the commissioners were interested in roads and appointed various committees to view and report regarding suggested roads to be built.

The following is from Commissioners Journal No. 1, Huron County, Ohio, December meeting 1815:

Road No. 15. From the Old English Fort on Sandusky Bay on a Southern direction toward Mansfield to the south line of Huron County.

Abner Young, Surveyor.

Seth Brown
Daniel Page
Charles Blanchard
Committee.

The road designated is today Ohio State Highway No. 99 whose northern terminus is in Venice and which runs approximately along the route designated above. And the northern terminus is very close to Ruggles' Old Fort and the Fort Sandusky shown on Hutchins' Map of 1764. Nor is that all.

Major Frederick Falley at one time owned all the land in Margaretta Township, formerly called Patterson, and the land in the fraction lying north of the whole township. March 1st, 1815, he sold 400 acres of land to one Ely Hunt. The somewhat lengthy contract cannot be abridged without spoiling it as evidence, so it is given here in full:

Contract Copied From Deeds (transcribed) Old Series Vol. 2,
Page 840-842 Incl.
(Extract)
Norwalk, Huron County Court House, Recorder's Office

Frederick Falley to Ely Hunt - Contract March 1st, 1815.

This article of agreement entered into by and between Frederick Falley, of Wheatsborough, in the county of Huron and State of Ohio, of the first part, and Eli Hunt, of the same town, County and State aforesaid of the second part,

WITNESSETH: That the party of the first part agrees to sell and convey to the party of the second part three hundred acres of land lying partly in the second Section of Township Number six (called Patterson) in the twentyfourth Range in said County of Huron and partly in the fraction North of said Township. Beginning at a white ash tree marked about four rods West of the head of the said Eli Hunt's Mill Race on Cold Creek, running thence crossing Cold Creek East 5 degrees North two hundred and forty Rods thence North 5 degrees West two hundred rods crossing the said Township line on the North line of said Township at right angles eighty-one rods from the corner last mentioned, thence West 5 degrees South two hundred and forty rods crossing Cold Creek thence South 5 degrees East two hundred rods to the first bounds. Also one hundred acres (called the Marsh Place) adjoining North on the aforesaid tract and beginning on the North line on the East bank of Cold Creek, running thence East 5 degrees North one hundred and sixty rods, thence North 5 degrees West one hundred rods, thence West 5 degrees South one hundred and sixty rods to said Cold Creek, thence up the Creek on the East bank following the various angles of the Creek to the first bound containing in the whole four hundred acres with the improvements thereon and one set of sawmill irons which were on the

Note that the Old English Fort is mentioned three times.

Confirming this contract is Johnson and Johnson's survey of Margaretta Township dated April 14th, 1831, and recorded in *Huron County Records*, Old Series, vol. 8, page 482 and transcribed to vol. A, Town plats. The land described in the contract is definitely shown, and Cold Creek and the Canal mentioned are shown on the map, making it clear that the "head of the Swail" and therefore the Old English Fort are near the Bay on the west side of the Canal very near where State Route 99 intersects U. S. 2 and U. S. 6.

But the final and clinching document of all is the town plat of Venice recorded in *Plat Records of Huron County* vol. A, page 43 and transcribed from *Old Series*, vol. II, page 19 with the following affidavit written on the map:

Town Plat of Venice — Huron Town (Old Avery) Huron County, State of Ohio, 18th October, 1816.

This day personally appeared Frederick Folley (sic) and acknowledged the within to be the map of the 1st Section of a town plat by him laid out on his land, bearing the name of Venice, on the Fraction north of Township number 6, in the 24th range of Townships in the Connecticut Western Reserve in said County of Huron, on the south side of Sandusky Bay embracing the Old English Fort so-called. Sworn to before David Abbott, Huron Town.

Recorded Oct. 18th, 1816. Ichabod Marshall, Recorder.

The eastern boundary of the town was the canal mentioned above, so the Old English Fort is again shown to be west of the Canal within 100 rods of Lake Erie as 100 rods were the north and south limits of the town according to the description recorded. The above evidence shows clearly that the English Fort Sandusky stood on the south shore of Sandusky Bay, that De Léry's Fort Sandusky stood on the north side of Sandusky Bay and that historians have been wrong in assuming that the various Fort Sanduskys stood at one and the same location. British Fort Sandusky destroyed May 16th, 1763 stood on the south shore of Sandusky Bay within the limits of that part of the Town of Venice, Erie County, Ohio, lying west of the canal, and if the Commissioners Journal is correct, approximately where Ohio State Highway 99, U. S. 2 and U. S. 6 intersect.

To sum up the evidence:

1st. Colonel Henry Bouquet's orders to Lieutenant Meyers to build a block house on the south shore of Sandusky Bay.

2nd. Map drawn by Hutchins who personally visited it, locating Fort Sandusky on the south shore.

3rd. Pauli's correspondence recording it on the south shore of the bay. Pauli was a survivor of the massacre of British Fort Sandusky—no one disputes that and he certainly should have known where the fort stood.

4th. Almon Ruggles' field notes recording an old fort at the spot shown by Hutchins as Fort Sandusky of Pontiac's War.

5th. Huron County Commissioners Journal No. 1 which locates an English Fort as the northern terminus of an early road which today is State Highway No. 99.

6th. Falley's land contract mentioning an Old English Fort three times and supported by the Johnson Survey and recorded map showing various items mentioned in the contract which help to identify the location of the Fort.

7th. The town plat of Venice and sworn statement that the town plat includes an old English fort on the south shore of Sandusky Bay and west of the Canal, where Cold Creek enters Sandusky Bay today.

Some have said "You have Fort Junandot." Three things rule that out:

- 1. Junandot has never been definitely proven to be other than at most a palisaded trading post or even an Indian village.
- 2. De Léry makes no mention of a Fort Junandot supposedly built in 1754, and he was in the supposed vicinity in 1754 and 1755. Again conclusions have been hastily drawn here and lack proof.
- 3. Junandot was (if a fort at all) of French origin. There never has been any controversy about that point.

The fort so well documented at Venice is universally referred to as an old English fort, and all the evidence coincides its location with Hutchins' Fort Sandusky, destroyed during Pontiac's War.

And the author is personally inclined to believe that the Anioton described by De Léry on the west bank of Pipe Creek at the entrance to Sandusky Bay is the probable site of the so called Fort Sandusky connected with Chief Nicolas. That particular item needs further research. But in any event the historian who believes that British Fort Sandusky stood on the north shore of Sandusky Bay, has powerful evidence to the contrary to refute, including public documents duly recorded, as well as evidence left by men who were there and the order of Colonel Bouquet to build it on the south shore.



The Great Lakes, 1850-1861

By Andrew T. Brown

SHIPS AND TRAVELLERS

A NOBSERVER looking out over any of the chief lake harbors during the summer of 1850 would have seen sails for the most part. Had he been in Buffalo he would most likely have made out one or more paddlewheel steamers, not unlike the Goodtime which so recently carried excursioners from Cleveland. He would perhaps have seen a propeller steamer, and this would have occasioned some interest. Propellers had plied the lake trade only since 1842, when the Vandalia was launched at Oswego on Lake Ontario. Whatever kinds of ships he saw, had our watcher been at Oswego, Buffalo, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Racine, or Chicago — to list only the most important harbors — he would have seen much activity before him. Ten thousand hands worked on about a thousand ships belonging to Americans in 1850. American tonnage outweighed Canadian by five to one.

The history of lake ships during this period of the forties and fifties is a history of catastrophe and tragedy. Loss of life and property was staggering, and, indeed, compelled the action of Congress. 1850 was not only the busiest year on the lakes hitherto, but it was also the most disastrous. 431 lives and \$568,000 in hulls and cargoes were lost in accidents.

Fillmore called attention to the situation in his message to Congress, December, 1851:

... I deem it my duty again to call your attention to this important subject... Great numbers of lives and vast amounts of property are annually lost for want of safe and convenient harbors on the Lakes. None but those who have been exposed to that dangerous navigation can fully appreciate the importance of this subject. The whole Northwest appeals to you for relief...

The decade began with at least three particularly tragic sinkings. The steamers Anthony Wayne and Troy were sunk, and the steamer G. P. Griffith went down just outside of Cleveland. The last mentioned is

noteworthy because nearly all of those lost were immigrants from Sweden. The captain knew his ship was in danger and was making for shore, which he might well have reached, had not a sand bar stopped the ship and kept the passengers just out of reach of safety.

Steamships in general already had a reputation for being unsafe. Propellers seemed to capsize frequently, which was in all probability due to their being badly loaded. One common cause of accidents was collision - the most famous case of this kind occurring toward the end of the decade. On September 8, 1860, the steamer Lady Elgin put out of Milwaukee on its way to Chicago. Aboard were 300 Irish people who were going to attend a rally there. Toward evening, a wind rose and waves became higher. There was no sign of danger, however, and the party on board continued to sing festive songs, and, one may suspect, to sample their national beverages. Some time after nightfall, the steamer struck a schooner; both captains called back and forth assuring each other that there was no serious damage done, and the schooner continued on. The Lady Elgin lost way, however, and wavered about. Shortly afterward it went down - 297 lives being lost with it. Irish citizens in Milwaukee later blamed the schooner captain for not stopping longer by the stricken steamer, and made it impossible for that schooner ever to show itself in Milwaukee harbor again. It was repainted and renamed, and one day later it did put in to Milwaukee. Despite its disguise, someone recognized it and a party was aroused to go down and destroy it; warned in time, its crew took it out of the port safely, and it never returned to Milwaukee.

The causes of so many accidents in lake travel were analyzed in Hunt's Merchant's Magazine as follows: (1) The rapid expansion of demand for sailors resulted in inexperienced men being taken on. These men were overworked and apparently despite the demands, underpaid. (2) High freight rates tempted owners to overload their ships, or to load them hurriedly and improperly. (3) Federal laws as to lights on ships and proper mounting of watches were often ignored. (This would explain the Lady Elgin disaster described above.) (4) Many sand bars made the lakes dangerous.

The large number of accidents which occurred on Lake Erie has been partially due to its shallowness, although commerce was busier on this

lake than on the others. It is significant that faulty construction of hulls or boilers is not mentioned as a primary cause. This panorama of catastrophe was apparently just one more tribute American enterprise has paid for its prodigious and meteoric growth.

There were two direct reactions to the insecurity of lake travel in these times. The first was governmental. On June 24, Representative Carter of Ohio made a resolution, unanimously adopted, to have the House Committee on Commerce investigate the advisability of Federal safety rules for all craft. In the Senate a bill to that effect was introduced a month later. In August, the House bill was discussed, Joshua Giddings presenting a memorial from a group of Clevelanders supporting it. The House bill was passed, but the Senate took no conclusive action this session. A group of citizens of Baltimore had memorialized against the bill, saying that inspection should be left to the proprietors who would be controlled by "that desire of success which leads to excellence." Senators voted the bill's passage a year later, in August, 1852, and on the 30th, Fillmore signed it.

By this time, the opposition had rallied, and memorials were presented in the House from various groups opposed. One of the most interesting was a group of river pilots, who objected to the requirement that only licensed pilots be employed. They seemed to think that this would remove the premium placed on good piloting, by providing vessel-owners with some sort of automatic guarantee that any licensed pilot they employed would be competent. The owners themselves protested the strictness of the Act, and on March 3, 1853, a joint resolution permitted the government inspectors to grant owners extended time-limits in which to adopt the various provisions of the Act. These were limitations on the number of passengers to be carried, specifications as to life boats, and precautions against boiler explosions. The Act applied only to steamships.

The private activity on behalf of maritime safety came, of course, from the insurance companies. In 1855, a Board of Lake Underwriters was organized. It represented at least 31 insurance companies. Its chief purpose was to establish criteria for valuation, and uniform system of business ethics within the insurance business. Prior to this time, each separate company had maintained one "Marine inspector," whose job it

was to appraise all ships his company insured, and to get to the scene of every accident involving one of them, in short, to do everything outside of the company office. The Board remedied this inefficient situation, at least. By 1860, it employed ten inspectors, and the data which they gathered was disseminated among the participating companies.

The Board further set maximum and minimum rates of insurance, and gathered statistics as to the depreciation of the various kinds of ships. This data gives us valuable information about the lake ships of that time. The greater danger of steamships was reflected in the fact that while for first-class sails, insurance cost from 6 to $8\frac{1}{2}\%$, for steamers it cost from 8 to 10% — in each case, the variation depended upon the weight of the ship, smaller hulls being insured for less than larger ones.

Moreover, steamships depreciated faster than sails. Insurance figures again give the picture. Valuation for a first-class steamer of 300 tons when new, averaged \$95.00 per ton. After twelve years of use, the figure drops to \$40.00. For a propeller of the same size, the figures are \$75.00 per ton when new, \$32.00 when twelve years old; for a sail, \$47.00 to \$20.00. Percentage-wise, this represents a slightly faster depreciation for steamers and propellers.

To this must be added, that the lives of steam vessels were much more frequently cut short by accidents than were the lives of sails. The Board's figures show that the money value of losses by steam and sail were about equal until 1857. During this period there were at least three times as many sails on the lakes as steamships, indicating that any given sailing ship was three times as safe as a given steamer.

It was, therefore, in the face of serious drawbacks that the steamship moved onto the lakes and came to dominate their commerce. Large steamships, of 1,000 and more tons, had been built as early as 1844, and were used in the Lake Erie-Lake Michigan passenger trade. Such ships were rare, however, until 1850, when the era of large ship-building began. The first steamship on the lakes, the Walk-in-the-Water launched in 1818, weighed 340 tons. In 1850, three mammoths were launched: the Alabama of 1200 tons, at Sandusky; the Keystone State, 1354 tons, at Buffalo; and the Mayflower, 1300 tons, at Detroit. These ships were all side-wheelers; propellers averaged $\frac{2}{3}$ less displacement than steamers.

Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, in an article about propellers, said that while they were more economically operated than side-wheelers, their size was as yet limited by harbor depths, the Welland Canal locks, and the St. Clair Flats.

In spite of these limitations, propellers soon outnumbered side-wheelers on the lakes. First tried twenty-four years after the Walk-in-the-Water, there were 182 propellers in 1861, as against 71 side-wheelers.

Steam power was often used in the early days as an auxiliary to sails. It was uneconomical usually, however, because the added weight slowed ships down considerably when under sail. Also, at such times, the paddles or propellers caused a great deal of drag going through the water. This moved one of Freeman Hunt's imaginative writers to propose a new type of paddle power, based on the principle of the oar: the paddles should be built so that they could be hoisted out of the water when not in use. There were many kinds of vessels on the lakes during the fifties, but it is doubtful if any were so bizarre as this spectacle, a sort of mechanical trireme, would have been, had its principle been adopted.

The passenger business showed profits, despite the plaints of the owners and their representatives in Congress. As early as 1846, at least 250,000 passengers were carried, mostly in steamers which earned an average of \$3,000 each (net) that season. By 1850, sixteen first-class side-wheelers and twenty propellers of over 300 tons were carrying passengers between Buffalo and Chicago. At each port there were arrivals and departures twice daily. The trip took four days on a fast ship, and cost ten dollars for cabin accommodations. (The fastest speed made by a lake steamer during the fifties was sixteen miles an hour, according to one historian. The ship was the *North Star*, built in a Cleveland yard.)

In addition to the regular passenger service started between Cleveland and Detroit in 1850, regular service ran from Buffalo to Detroit and Toledo, and was extended to Cleveland and Sandusky in 1853. The same year a line was set up between Chicago and Milwaukee. Much of this passenger business served to carry the swelling stream of immigrants from Buffalo to the Northwest. As early as 1840, at least one line of eight ships was engaged in the immigrant traffic alone. Later, the Northern Transportation Company advertised its "well-known and popular line of First Class Screw Steamers running from Ogdens-

burg to the Upper Lakes." Pointing out the excellent rail and canal connections at western ports, the Company boasted of its service: "Passengers and families moving west can embark with their luggage, team, stock, etc., and land together without disturbance or trans-shipment, at their port of destination . . ." Advertisements like this were common in newspapers and travel folders of the fifties.

Although the lake lines continued to advertise, the completion of through railroads to Chicago made a serious dent in the business. By May, 1852, two railroads connected Chicago with the east on the south shore; by January, 1854, the Great Western was complete from Buffalo to Windsor, thus bracketing the lake highway with rails. Land transportation was now faster, and probably safer, and the immigrant business began to shift from lake to rail.

Sometimes the railroad lines operated ships. The Michigan Central, for example, launched in 1854 two of the finest passenger steamships in the world: the *Plymouth Rock*, and the *Western World*. Each displaced about 2,000 tons, was 348 feet long, and had cost \$250,000 to build. They plied between Buffalo and Detroit for three years, but were unable to survive the depression of 1857. The force with which this panic struck the lakes was increased by the railroad competition. From 1857 to 1859, the lake shipping business was struggling to maintain itself, thus fulfilling the implied prophecy of the *True Democrat*.

(To be continued)

^{1.} Charles Armstrong, Cape Vincent's role in "The Northern Transportation Company's Fleet," INLAND SEAS, vol. 4, pp. 152-158.



Johnson's Port Hole Navigation

By WILLIAM C. DORN

"With a pair of calipers and a twelve inch rule, The Chief climbed upon his cabin stool. He glanced out the port at a bit of land As he shifted six pencils from hand to hand.

"He took a two finger bearing on God knows what, And hurriedly grabbed his morning tot; He jumped down below the "revs" to take To see what knots he'd have to make.

"He looked at the clock and yelled for steam, Then wrote in the Log, 'Conneaut's abeam,' 'Righto, chief'; as the Canuckers say—Abeam six hundred miles away.

"On an ancient chart of Old Cathay, The course he marked with a corset stay; His calipers slipped as a wave made her roll, But he marked his fix with a piece of coal.

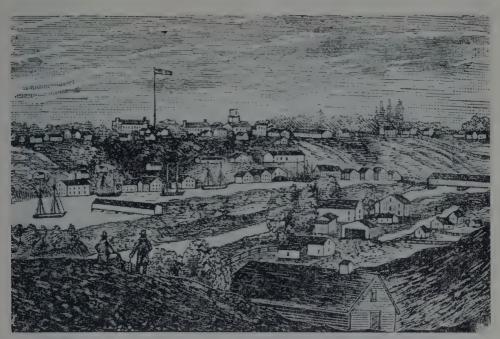
"He added, deducted, divided by three, And called to the Mate, 'Dead ahead's Manistee!' Navigation to him is mere child's play; Yes. Manistee's a hundred miles away.

"He took the bilge soundings and added the log, Deducted the draft, made allowance for fog, Divided the tonnage by the pressure of steam, Added her length to the maximum beam.

"By the sea temperature, her speed multiplied, Then threw all his figures over the side. Blew the whistle three times, set the links back an inch, Tied the safety valve down tight with a deck winch.

"'Another five hours,' he told the Chief Mate, 'Will bring her in sight of dear old Kate's!' Better grab something, Chief, and take a round turn, We're on our way out and Kate's is astern!"

—The Columbia Shipmate
November 1948.



VIEW OF MILAN in 1846 as sketched from the North Milan hill for Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio. Warehouses line the far side of the Canal Basin.

By courtesy of the Milan Ledger. (See page 215.)



THE LAST WAREHOUSE on the old Milan Canal Basin, built around 1840 by Nathan Jenkins. Photography by courtesy of P. A. Ewell, Milan, Ohio. (See page 212.)



The Milan Canal today. Originally the towpath was on the left. Photography by courtesy of P. A. Ewell. (See page 219.)



OLD HOME built by Nathan Jenkins in 1835. (See page 213.)



ORIGINAL LITHOGRAPH of East Saginaw in 1849. By courtesy of Robert Polson. (See page 224.)



MICHILIMACKINAC (Fort Mackinac) in 1820 from a sketch by Henry R. Schoolcraft. (See page 266.)



S. S. Santa Claus (Soreldoc) in the Chicago River, November, 1949. By courtesy of The Chicago Daily News. (See page 274.)



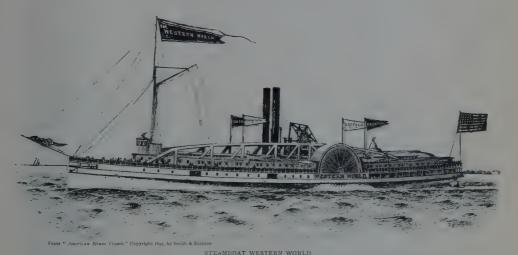
THE SANDSUCKER John M. McKerchey which sank off Lorain Harbor, October, 1950. (See page 270.)

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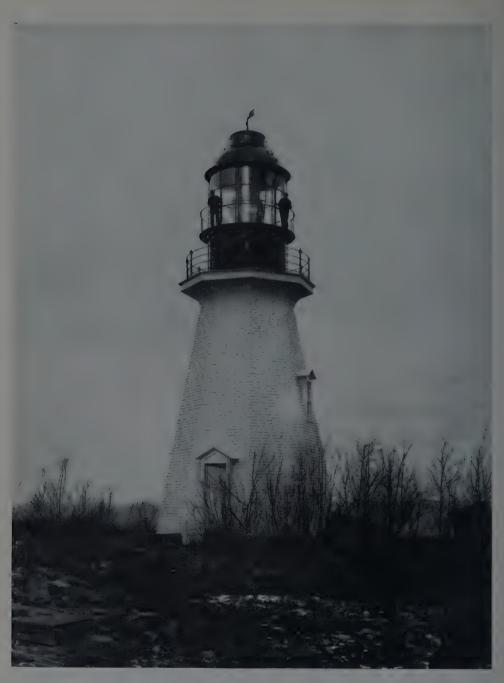
THE Wilfred Sykes on her maiden trip as seen from Blue Water Bridge, Port Huron, Michigan. Photograph by Russell Sawyer, courtesy of Dorice E. Loveland.

(See page 271.)



Built at Buffaio in 1854. Length 348 feet; beam 45 feet; engines vertical beam, 1,500 horse power; 2,002 tons; Western World and Plymouth Rock, duplicates, two of the finest side-wheel steamers ever built on the lakes; each cost \$305,000; hull timbers diagonally braced with iron, four water tight compartments; ran only a few years

STEAMER Western World, built at Buffalo in 1854. Photograph from History of the Great Lakes, by J. B. Mansfield. (See page 239.)



LONELY ISLAND LIGHT in Georgian Bay. (See page 275.)

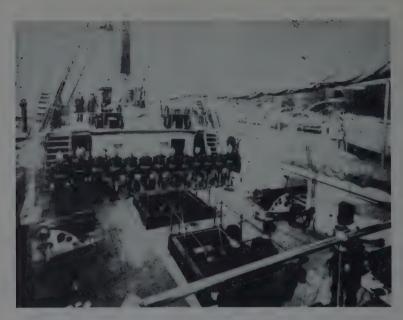


CAPTAIN THOMAS HUTCHINS' map showing Fort Sandusky, from Historical account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764. (See page 229.)

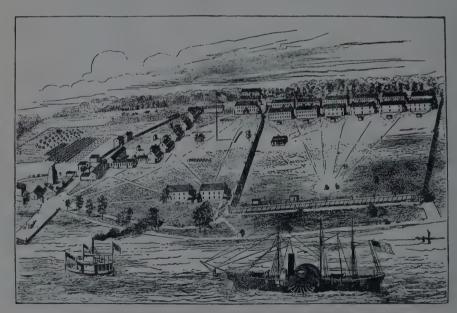


THE TOWN AND FORT OF MALDEN, military post in 1812, originally named Fort Amherstburg. From Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. IX.

(See page 263.)



RARE PHOTOGRAPH of a deck scene aboard the USS Michigan (The Wolverine), by courtesy of the Erie, Pennsylvania Daily Times. (See page 249.)

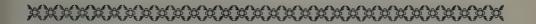


DEPOT OF CONFEDERATE PRIBONERS ON JOHNSON'S ISLAND, SANDUSKY BAY, LAKE ERIE.

From a lithograph of a War-time sketch made by Edward Gould, Co. B., 128th Ohio. In the foreground is the U. S. Steamer Michigan.

The long radiating lines in the enclosure are paths leading from the prison blocks to the pumps.

CONTEMPORARY lithograph from the Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. IX. (See page 249.)



John Wilson Murray and the Johnson's Island Plot

By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

In SEPTEMBER 1864, a group of Confederate adventurers boarded a small steamer, the *Philo Parsons*, in Canada and embarked upon one of the most daring and controversial escapades of the Civil War—the unsuccessful attempt to liberate the Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island near Sandusky and to capture the warship, the *Michigan*. The interesting story of this raid, which was under the direction of John Yates Beall, has provoked the speculation and consideration of both professional historian and dilettante alike for many years. The evidence which has been unearthed on the various aspects of the raid is quite controversial and often leads to diametrically opposed conclusions.¹

One of the most interesting and intriguing aspects of this affair is the role played by the Confederate agent, Charles H. Cole, and the amateur sleuth, John Wilson Murray, who claimed to have tracked Cole across the North, ultimately effected his arrest and foiled the raid. This is an account of this aspect of the affair. The author makes no claim to having solved the perplexing, tantalizing problems created by Cole and Murray. He has merely recounted Murray's version of what happened and sought to couple it with certain other facts with which it is known

^{1.} Frederick J. Shepard, "The Johnson's Island Plot," Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, IX (1906), pp. 1-52; Daniel B. Lucas, Memoir of John Yates Beall (Montreal, 1865); The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), series I, vol. XLIII, part II, 225-247, 930-936; William F. Zornow, "Confederate Raiders on Lake Erie: Their Propaganda Value in 1864," INLAND SEAS, V (Spring, Summer, 1949), pp. 42-47, 101-105.

to be at variance.² Whether Murray's story, which is often controverted by other statements, is really correct or not must await the discovery of additional evidence.

John Wilson Murray, who was destined to become a very famous detective in Canada, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1840. His family moved to New York in 1845; while still a lad Murray returned to his native home but soon sailed again to America in 1853. Four years later he joined the navy and was still in service when the Civil war broke out. He saw some action with the Gulf Squadron where he fought under Farragut. In 1864 he was an acting-gunner aboard the warship Michigan on the Great Lakes, and it is here that one picks up the thread of his narrative.

According to Murray's account he was summoned to the cabin of Captain Jack C. Carter of the *Michigan* in May, 1864 and was detailed for special duty. There had been some rumors of an impending Confederate plot to seize Johnson's Island and to liberate the prisoners. "Try to get to the bottom of the conspiracy, if there is one," said the captain to his gunner, "Go to any place and every place; you have an unlimited commission. Report to me from time to time." ⁸

Murray's first destination was Detroit where he conferred with Lieutenant Colonel Bennett Hill in an effort to gain some information about the alleged plot. The colonel had only the most meagre information to impart, so that Murray had to turn elsewhere for his first lead. At that moment the Ohio Copperhead leader, Clement L. Vallandigham, was residing in Windsor. Murray crossed to Canada and sought to learn what the Ohioan was doing and what Confederate sympathizers were associated with him. Among Vallandigham's visitors the ever vigilant Murray noticed a dapper fellow of about thirty-eight who had

^{2.} Victor Speer, Memoir of a Great Detective (London, 1904). Frederick Shepard, who has written the best account of the raid, dismisses Murray's version of his role in the affair as highly improbable. He called attention to the fact that Murray was lax in his use of dates and confused the names of the persons involved. This fact alone would not prove that Murray's account was a fabrication, but it does serve to cast much suspicion on its accuracy.

^{3.} At the time of this commission Murray was but twenty-four years of age. He had neither experience as a detective nor as a counter-espionage agent. No explanation is given as to why Carter would choose a novice to cross swords with the experienced Confederate agents he would most certainly meet on this assignment.

red hair, bright grey eyes, and large mustachios. This man was reputed to have been a Confederate agent and was Charles H. Cole.⁴ From a scrap of conversation which Murray overheard between Cole and Vallandigham he became convinced that the former was an important and rather dangerous person. After communicating his finding to Carter at Sandusky, Murray set off in pursuit of his quarry who proceeded to lead him a dizzy chase throughout most of the major cities of the North.

Cole's first stop was Toledo, Ohio, where he spent some time closeted with about a dozen Confederate sympathizers. From here he sped to Montreal where he was joined by a woman accomplice. Murray described her as follows:⁵

She was an elegant looking lady. She was big and stately, a magnificent blonde with clothes that were a marvel to me. I did not know her then, but later she turned out to be the celebrated Irish Lize. The contrast between her and Cole was striking. She was big, stout, and fine-looking; he was a little, sandy, red haired fellow, but smart as lightning.

Joining forces with Irish Lize, Cole hastened on to Albany, and after a one night stay they moved on to New York. Murray, in the meantime, was in hot pursuit as he followed his suspects to Philadelphia, Washington, Harrisburg, Buffalo, and Cleveland. Murray managed to remain out of sight during all this time and apparently neither Cole nor his companion realized that they were being dogged by this relentless shadow. Wherever the two stopped, they were invariably met by some strangers who apparently knew in advance of their impending arrival. Murray claimed that he contemplated seizing his two suspects; he had evidence that Cole was a Southern sympathizer but lacked conclusive proof that he was contemplating or organizing a conspiracy. He decided to wait until the evidence against Cole was complete.

When the two travelers reached Cleveland, they were joined by a young man named Charles Robinson. The three moved on to Sandusky where about June 20, 1864 Cole and his companion registered at the West House as man and wife. Robinson found lodging in a private boarding house. At the West House Cole posed as a wealthy oil mag-

^{4.} Murray incorrectly called him "L. C. Cole."

^{5.} In the testimony and accounts which have been given about the affair this woman has been variously referred to as Annie Cole, Anna Brown, Annie Davis, Belle Brandon, and Irish Lize.

nate and began to spend money lavishly. Shortly after his arrival he was visited by John Yates Beall, who was to direct the raid from Canada.⁶

Within a week after Cole's arrival at the West House, Murray decided the time had come to make a personal contact with his suspect. He accordingly moved into the same hotel and registered as John U. Wilson of New Orleans. Shortly afterward he met Cole quite casually and the two men struck up an acquaintance over a few drinks. Cole, although he was supposed to have been a trained espionage agent, did not recognize that this young man had ridden in the same coach and frequented the same hotels with him in his mad dash across the country.

Cole began to lay the groundwork for his plot. He bought a yacht and a team of fast horses, and he also made the acquaintance of the officers in charge of Johnson's Island and those aboard the *Michigan*. He won their friendship by liberal gifts of cigars and liquor. Murray watched all this carefully and reported to Carter all that was happening.

According to Murray's account he helped Cole arrange a party at the Seven Mile House near Sandusky; the officers from the vessel and the island were invited to attend. All this activity had been spurred on when Cole received a telegram from Detroit which read, "I send you sixteen shares per two messengers. (signed) D. B." This message, which was intercepted by Murray, was alleged to have referred to the eighteen conspirators who were coming down from Canada aboard the *Philo Parsons* to seize the *Michigan*. This is Murray's version of the journey of the *Parsons*:

After the steamer Parsons got well into Lake Erie, these eighteen men opened their luggage boxes, took therefrom braces of revolvers and captured the Parsons, making her captain a prisoner. Then they steamed on to Kelley's Island, off Sandusky, where the steamer Island Queen was lying. They sent some of their men aboard the Queen, caught the few of her crew aboard unawares, gave orders to Engineer Richardson, and when he refused to obey, shot him dead. They then took the Island Queen out into the lake and ran her on to Gull Island and abandoned her there. Then they headed for Sandusky in the Parsons which was due at six o'clock in the evening.

When this version is contrasted with other known facts in the case, many discrepancies appear. There actually seem to have been at least twenty conspirators rather than Murray's eighteen. According to him

^{6.} Murray incorrectly called him "G. C. Beal."

the incident occurred about "the middle of July," when actually the raid was launched September 18, 1864. The raiders did not seize the *Philo Parsons* until after it left Kelley's Island. After seizing the vessel the raiders sailed directly to Sandusky but turned back after losing their confidence at the sight of the *Michigan*. From here they returned to Middle Bass Island where the *Island Queen* was actually seized. The engineer who was shot was named Henry Haines and his wound was serious but not mortal; he lived to collect a pension from the government. Murray's account makes no reference to the fact that there were about two dozen Federal soldiers, who were "A. W. O. L." from the 130th Regiment O. V. I., aboard the *Island Queen* when it was attacked.

This portion of Murray's story, however, was undoubtedly taken from several confused accounts of eye witnesses and others who may have gotten the story secondhand. Of more value is Murray's account of what he was doing at that moment to foil Cole's plans. So that even though the first section of the story is highly contradictory, it does not prove that the balance of Murray's account is incorrect too.

While the *Parsons* was steaming toward Sandusky, Cole and Murray arranged their dinner party for the officers of the prison and the ship. The plan was to have most of the officers far removed from their posts of duty when the raiders struck. When the officers failed to arrive at the party by the designated hour, Cole grew impatient and said to Murray or Wilson, "It's strange these officers are not ashore before this. You go off and see them." Murray replied that they would not come for him and suggested that Cole perform the errand himself.

Both men went to the dock where they found a boat from the Michigan waiting. Cole reputedly gave the coxswain ten dollars to buy his crew a round of drinks. When the oarsmen returned from the saloon, they rowed Cole, Murray, and Ensign James Hunter, who had been with the boat, out to the Michigan.

Once aboard the Michigan Wilson made his way to the captain's cabin and reported to Carter that he had their man. The conspirator was ordered up from below into the captain's presence; as Cole entered the

^{7.} It is difficult to see how Cole expected to weaken the officer personnel of the Michigan by this means, for only one officer could according to regulations be absent from the vessel at a time.

cabin, Murray (who had now thrown off his disguise as Wilson) said, "Captain Carter, this is Mr. Cole, a rebel spy." Cole protested his innocence of such a charge and presented some papers purporting to show that he was actually a major in the Confederate service.

Murray took the prisoner into another cabin and searched him. He found that Cole was carrying six hundred dollars in cash as well as ten certified checks drawn on the Bank of Montreal for five thousand each. Cole was reputed to have offered his captor the fifty thousand dollars if he would aid him to escape. Murray, however, refused to betray his country's trust, and Cole remained in close confinement until his transfer to Johnson's Island. Later he was sent to Fort Lafayette in New York and again to Fort Warren in Boston where he was held until after the war. In the meantime Murray agreed to help him by selling his horses and closing all his outstanding business in Sandusky. With the assistance of some troops Murray also claimed that he took into custody Cole's accomplices, Irish Lize, Robinson, and Lewis Rosenthal.⁸

In effecting Cole's capture Murray modestly assumed the full credit. He had been the one who trailed Cole across the country as well as arranged for the small boat to be waiting at Sandusky to take Cole to the *Michigan* where he was arrested. Murray too had intercepted the telegram to Cole concerning the "sixteen shares" which were being sent "by two messengers." As for Ensign James Hunter of the *Michigan*, Murray conceded that he "rendered valued assistance on the day of the arrest."

In his own version of the affair, Hunter took a different view of the situation. He dismissed the contribution of Murray as negligible and stated in an interview with Frederick Shepard that acting on Carter's orders he had visited Cole in his hotel room and invited him to return to the *Michigan* where he was taken into custody.

Another version of the arrest of Cole was given by Daniel K. Huntington, who was one of the soldiers aboard the *Island Queen* when the ship was taken. According to this account there was a secret service operator in Sandusky who suspected Cole of being an enemy agent. This man may have been Murray, but actually he was not a secret service operator

^{8.} Murray made no mention of the others who were also arrested for complicity, J. B. Merrick and Stanley Strain.

but merely acting on a commission from Captain Carter. It is difficult, therefore, to tell whether this was Murray or whether there was someone else in Sandusky working on the case. This operator, or Murray if that is who he was, discovered that Cole was paying court to a young belle from Louisville, Kentucky whose uncle, George Marsh, was a prominent Sandusky merchant. According to Huntington Miss Marsh volunteered to assist the operator in uncovering Cole's real activities. Murray made no mention of this young lady in his account. Also according to Huntington's story, the suspect was taken into custody by the operator in a restaurant "on the south side of Water Street," and not aboard the Michigan as the versions of Murray and Hunter would lead one to believe. 10

Thus, there are three versions, each one of which differs substantially in the major details. Murray's account, as told by Victor Speer, gives him the full credit for apprehending Cole. Ensign Hunter is relegated to the minor role of merely having the Michigan's boat at the dock awaiting the arrival of Cole and Murray. Hunter's account, as told to Frederick Shepard, insisted that the ensign was sent by Carter to find Cole. The suspect was located in his hotel room and invited back to the Michigan where he was arrested. Hunter ridiculed Murray's assertions as complete fabrications. The Huntington version, and one must remember that it is not the account of an eye-witness or a participant, insisted that the arrest of Cole was effected by a secret service operator, who was assisted by a young Kentucky belle. Cole was supposed to have been taken in a restaurant by the operator, who is not identified but may have been Murray. Thus, the reader can see the dilemma in which the investigator is placed as he seeks to unravel the skein of stories concerning the Johnson's Island plot and Charles H. Cole. There are also in addition to these essential differences, many minor points upon which the three stories conflict.

The only remaining problem is to consider briefly what the raiders' plans were and what part Cole played in them. Although Murray sus-

^{9.} Huntington does not say whether the girl was of any assistance to the operator or not in discovering the plan which Cole had formulated.

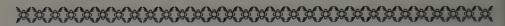
^{10.} The Daniel Huntington version is preserved in the Western Reserve Historical Society. Most of it is reproduced in the present author's article in INLAND SEAS' issues for Spring and Summer, 1949.

pected that Cole was engineering a plot to capture the Michigan and Johnson's Island, he did not know all the details. After arresting his suspect Murray claimed that he prepared to capture the Parsons which he knew was due to arrive shortly in Sandusky. He admitted in his account to Victor Speer that they failed to take the ship, because he did not know that Cole had arranged for the Parsons to stay outside the harbor. In the meantime Cole planned to slip away from his party at the Seven Mile House, ride back to Sandusky, and sail out to meet the ship in his yacht. According to Murray's story this is what the raiders intended to do after they were joined by Cole:

They had all their plans made to meet Cole, and go in small boats to the Michigan, capture the ship, and then run over to Johnson's Island and release the four thousand Confederate prisoners, chiefly officers, imprisoned there. They planned to land them at Point Pelee in Canada, right across the Lake. They were to approach the Michigan, and when asked who came there Cole would answer. He was well known to all, and relied on no one to suspect him. Once aboard, he believed he could carry the hatches with a rush. The Michigan had fourteen cannon aboard her, six parrot rifles, six twenty-four pound howitzers, two light howitzers, and over a hundred tons of ammunition. They had no other heavily armed craft to fear on the lake. They believed they could not only liberate their four thousand men on Johnson Island and land them in Canada, but also could sail the lake without fear of superior vessel until they bombarded and burned Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo. Some of the captured papers corroborated details of this plot.

As was the case of the other aspects of the plot there are also some discrepancies between Murray's story and the others. There is much doubt as to just what Cole intended to do and as to how the capture of the Michigan was to take place. Cole spoke of "captured papers" which corroborated the details of the plot; but if these papers did exist they are no longer extant so that one cannot prove his story to be correct. Huntington claimed that many years after the war he spoke to one of the raiders who then resided in Cleveland. This man made no reference to approaching the Michigan in small boats but claimed that the Parsons was going to come along side and the crew would board. They relied on the fact that there were Union prisoners aboard; they hoped this would deter Carter from firing upon them. According to his story the prisoners from Johnson's Island were to be taken to Sandusky and released, and they were to find their way south on their own. He said that they would have succeeded in this plan had Cole "carried his part through successfully," but he neglected to make clear what Cole was

to do, so that this aspect of the affair is still unsolved. Did Cole intend to weaken the ship by luring away its officers to a party? Did he plan to bribe them? Many have suggested that this is what he was going to do. Did they plan to approach in small boats, as Murray said, or attack boldly in the *Parsons*, as Huntington claimed? These are only a few of the questions which continue to make this relatively minor incident in the war a source of unending speculation. Time may produce more evidence which will lay these queries to rest, but until then the riddles remain to plague us.



Recollections of the Great Lakes 1874-1944

By Lauchlen P. Morrison

PART VIII

THE WEST NEEBISH ROCK CUT (Continued)

THE CONTRACTOR tried an experiment on this job that I had never seen before. The object was to leave this rock cut in as smooth a condition as possible. The channelling machines gave smooth vertical sides but the bottom of the cut was another problem. The material was a fine, blue limestone, dipping slowly to the south with well marked stratification. Mr. Locker, the contractor, laid out an area of one or two acres and drilled two inch holes every 50 feet, both longitudinally and laterally, pushed down a pipe in each hole to a little below the grade required, cemented the pipes in place and connected the whole series by a system of water pipes. He pumped water down these holes and after an hour or two of pumping results began to show. The level which had been set up well away from the area began to show that the section under the water pressure was slowly rising. When the elevation had reached some four inches, the pumping was stopped and the pressure released. The risen area slowly returned to its original condition but not entirely. When the overlaying rock was removed, it was found that the water had found a stratification line very close to the needed grade, and with the upper rock removed there was left a very smooth, level floor.

This method of separation also disclosed a very interesting geological fact. The line of cleavage occurred at what had been the bottom of the primeval sea and was covered with a vast number of long conical snail shells, many of them gigantic size. Some of them were six feet long and fifteen inches in diameter at the larger end tapering gracefully to a sharp point. Many of the specimens were as beautifully preserved as any seen in the museums. The minutest indentations in the petrified shell were clearly shown. Even the meaty body of what had been a

living animal protruding from the upper end of the shell was depicted. Many of these fossils were complete. Of course only one half of the fossil was exposed, the other being embedded in the surrounding matter. Some of the fossils stayed in the new bed of the river, but many were carried away with the removed overlay. Some of them later were laid in the walls erected along the sides of the completed channel and are there today in a museum that will last for centuries. There were also many other fossils of the bivalve type, identical, to my uneducated eye, with the clam found alive when the area was drained.

The actual time for the excavation was approximately two years, and when the dams were removed and the waters returned, a fine straight channel 300 feet wide with some 23 feet of draft existed. The sides were well marked with revetment walls and lined with navigation lights for night passage of boats.

Not long after the opening of the West Neebish channel, the steamer J. B. Ketcham, a small pulpwood carrier, down-bound, struck one of the entrance cribs carrying a navigation light. She punctured her bow and sank squarely across the entrance to the rock cut completely blocking it. Navigation was at its height at the time.

The next ten days were about as hectic as the Soo River ever experienced. All tug boats at the Soo were immediately sent to the Sailors Encampment and all shipping was placed under the U. S. Government engineer. All traffic was separated into groups of 12 to 15 ships, and a group would be sent up carefully guarded by the river tugs until they had passed from the Sailors Encampment to the head of the dike in Hay Lake, through the tricky section of the channel mentioned before. This actually cut traffic through the locks in two. The fleets tied up at the Soo and anchored in Mud Lake began to accumulate. The fleet anchored in Mud Lake below the Encampment was a magnificent sight, resembling a convoy at anchor.

The opening of the West Neebish channel fully met the requirements of the vessel interests and the draft of water over the sills of the latest lock removed the draft limit of the ships so that full loads could be in transit. However, a new limit now began to develop. The terminal ports, not being under United States authority but each under its own city government, had neglected to keep apace with the improvements in

the federal controlled waters so the shipping interests were up against the problem of considerable harbor improvements. Most of the terminal cities are located on streams flowing into the main artery of navigation. In the original location of the places these small streams furnished refuge for the smaller ships and row boats needed for local transportation along the shores, and abounded in fish which provided food for the pioneer. As the shipping increased these rivers were deepened and the alignment modified. Dock elevators and railroads were established along the banks, floating commerce merged with the rolling commerce and the beginning of a great national commerce was well under way.

Truly the location of these Great Lakes was the main incentive to the settlement of many of our cities of today. Nothing much was known of the vast deposits of iron and copper and the vast agricultural areas of the plains states. The discovery of the deposit of native copper of the upper peninsula of Michigan was a fine starting wedge, but the fur trade was the real pioneer of the trade routes of the system. The discovery of the great beds of iron ore of the Mesaba range spurred the financiers into frenzied activity.

The upper lakes were rich in raw material of the most needed and valuable kind but the population was meager, while the lower lakes were situated within easy distance of extensive coal and gas fields and where population was denser and in need of employment. The marriage of these terminals resulted in an era of prosperity that continues at an ever increasing rate to the present day.

"And they cussed Escanaba and its red iron ore."

THE FOURTH LOCK

Although known as the fourth lock, it is really the sixth as two locks no longer in existence were razed to make room for later improvements. Even this does not cover the whole history of the locks at the Sault.

Many, many years prior to the opening of the State lock at the American Sault, the Hudson Bay Fur Company had erected a lock at the Canadian Sault. The existence of this lock had been forgotten, but when B. J. Clerge was developing what is known as the Algoma Steel Company and the pulpwood grinding plant at the Sault, the foundation and portions of the walls of a lock were found. Enough of the structure was left to permit its reconstruction.

It was a timber built lock some 37 feet long and nine feet wide, with 30 inches draft over the sills. The lift was nine feet. The object of the lock was to help the fur bateau of the fur companies over the worst part of the rapids. The bateaux were double ended boats about 30 feet long, something like the pattern of the Cape Cod dory. They were fine sea boats for their size and wonderful carriers. Usually propelled by ten paddlers or oarsmen supplemented by a square sail forward when the wind was fair, they made the long trip from Port Arthur or the Rainy River to Montreal and back once each year. Some of the most beautiful furs the world has ever seen comprised the down bound cargo. Supplies of all kinds from knives, tomahawks and cast-iron shotguns to gold-mounted rapiers and gold watches, and from rotgut whiskey for the Indian trapper to champagne and choice brandy for the Hudson Bay agents were included in the cargo upbound. Truly those old Scotch Hudson Bay factors lived the life of Riley.

Upon the declaration of war in December 1941, the United States decided to build a fourth lock. The site chosen was that of the old Weitzel lock, which had passed its state of usefulness. The dimensions were much the same as those of the third or Sabin lock, but called for the unprecedented depth of 30 feet of draft over the sills. Thus the St. Lawrence waterway got in the entering wedge for tidal communication with fresh water. The lock was built in 16 months, about half the usual building time. Everything was put underground and tunnels were run to all operation machinery down some 70 feet in the rock below the locks. Down below, it was like a well-lighted city. Every precaution was taken to prevent an accident which would put the lock out of commission.

This lock will take ocean-going tonnage of considerable draft and would possibly reduce eastern continental freights as well as South American, but in my opinion the first load of such freight would be the presage of the complete ruin of American and Canadian fresh-water shipping.

It is quite true that the St. Lawrence ship channel and canals would lower the freight on many American-produced articles to the ultimate foreign consumer, but no part of this saving would benefit the American people. Simply an easier market would be afforded to the American producer, all of the saving being passed on to the foreign consumer while this tonnage would be lost to the Great Lakes shipping interests.

The Great Lakes shipping as it exists today is without doubt the most concentrated, efficient and economical fleet of shipping in the world. In nine months of navigation it handles more tonnage than the combined ports of New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk, at a cost far below any like freight movement in the world.

NAVIGATIONAL AIDS

I do not think that there is any body of water in the world even onetenth the size of the Great Lakes that is nearly as well provided with aids to navigation as is the Great Lakes area. The United States government has been lavish with funds to speed the delivery of freight and passengers on the waterways between Buffalo at one end, and Duluth and Chicago at the other ends. The ship channels are provided with side lights and, where possible, with central well-lighted ranges. Magnificent lighthouses mark all the principal points or are established on all dangerous shoals and reefs. Locks have been built and manned, channels dredged and maintained, and there are a considerable number of ships especially adapted to the work of the upkeep of the aids of navigation. lighthouse tenders are well worthy of special mention. They are eternally on the job to give immediate attention to defective or obliterated lights. Intricate flashing gas buoys, flashing and oscillating lights, all are thoroughly understood and kept in number one condition. There is also a vast establishment of Coast Guards, with stations, power life boats and other life-saving equipment situated every few miles along the coast line of the Great Lakes. Their salvage records read like romances from the deep waters of the world.

(To be continued)



The Great Lakes in Niles' National Register

CONTINUING publication of excerpts about the Great Lakes taken from America's leading news magazine during the years 1811 to 1849.

—The Editor.

Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan

(Continued)

Passing malden, where the Detroit River is about three miles wide (though the channel is within the range of a musket shot from the fort, which is, therefore, the key of the higher lakes) with a fine navigation of eighteen miles, you arrive at the town of Detroit, famous for Hull's capitulation, and the river here is only half a mile wide. Detroit was a handsome and lively place, and contained about twelve hundred inhabitants at the time of its surrender, who had a considerable commerce on the lakes and with the neighboring indians.

Passing Detroit, the river again expands, and receives the waters of lake St. Clair by a mouth a mile and a half wide. This lake is about ninety miles in circumference. Some say it has a bar across the middle, running east and west, to pass which vessels proceeding to or from lake Huron must be unladen; we do not credit this assertion, but believe it may be navigated by any of the vessels we have on lake Erie, with safety. The river St. Clair, which unites the lake of that name with lake Huron, presents an easy entrance for vessels into the latter; and is about eighteen miles long.

Lake HURON is of a triangular shape, about one thousand miles in circumference, and navigable for large ships, though some say it is not safe for vessels drawing more than nine or ten feet, on account of the shoals; perhaps chiefly because they are yet little known. The shores of this lake are represented as generally sterile, being composed of sand and small stones; but at some distance back the soil is pretty good. On the northern parts are many valuable establishments for carrying on the fur trade, of great importance to the enemy. From the northern extremity

of this lake, there is a back passage to Montreal; for the following luminous account of which we were indebted to the editor of the Aurora about a twelve month ago:

"The passage from Montreal to this post [St. Joseph's, to be noticed hereafter] is by the Outawas River, which has its source in the lake Timiskimaing north of lake Huron, but the passage from which into lake Huron is by a portage of two miles to the navigable head of French River, which falls into lake Huron. The Outawas River falls into the Cadaraqui from the north west about ten miles above Montreal; and presents in the passage upwards from Montreal numerous rapids, the waters passable with difficulty by canoes, and portages over which every thing must be transported by human labor only; circumstances which render it inefficient for military uses, since a force passing upwards must not only transport its military stores and provisions over these portages, but the supply and difficulty must be increased with numbers. facts in the present posture of affairs are very important, because they demonstrate, that with the command of the lakes, which the U. States can always possess when they determine to employ the ample and facile means which they possess, the whole of the Indian trade of the British must fall, and their garrisons must surrender or descend the Otawa River from mere necessity; we shall therefore give a short sketch of the passage up this river as it is pursued by the traders, whose commodities for transport are much more manageable than military apparatus.

"The navigation is conducted in canoes of birch, which carry about eight or ten men, and from forty to sixty packages of merchandise; besides their provisions, biscuit, pork, pease and Indian corn.—In May they leave La Chine about a mile below the entrance of the river Otawa, and proceed to St. Anne, about two miles from the western end of the island upon which stands Montreal, the two mountains being on the opposite side of the lake here formed by the confluence of the Otawa with the Cadaraqui, and taking the name of the lake of the two mountains; at St. Ann's there is a rapid, where they are obliged to unlade part of their cargoes.—This lake of the two mountains is twenty miles long, and about two miles wide, and cultivation is seen on both its sides; at its end the water contracts and assumes the name of Otawa river. Here it is the inland voyage is considered as beginning; and after a course of

fifteen miles, the current is interrupted by currents and cascades for a succession of ten miles, generally denominated rapids; here the travellers are obliged to unload and bear their burdens on slings or on their backs; whilst the canoes are towed up against the current with immense labor and patience. There are places where the ground will not admit of the carriage of large loads, and they are therefore carried at several times.

"After about sixty miles of smooth current, where the river is generally more than a mile wide, they reach the portage of the lake Chaudiere, where there is a cascade of twenty feet. The portage here is about half a mile, and canoes and all their lading are carried upon men's shoulders. Thence to the next portage des Chenes is short, but the land carriage is about a third longer than the preceding, and is called portage du Chat; there are two smaller portages called des Sables and de la Montagne, in eighteen miles to the grand Calumet, where the current is again tranquil; next the portage Dufort, which is 245 yards, over which canoes and cargoes must all be carried—then the portage of the mountain, the Derige, where the loads must be carried 385 yards over one, and 250 over the other—the last portage of this river is a long one between Les Allumettes, Deux Joachins and Roche Captaine and the discharge De Trou. The distance of the portages nearly two miles, and others over lofty and difficult rocks—when at about four hundred miles from Montreal, Petit Reviere falls into the Otawa from the south westward; here the voyageurs must turn off to the left, and pass this river of about sixty-five miles length, interrupted by rocks and cataracts to the number of thirteen to the high lands: when after the greatest difficulties, and a course of land carriage of about six miles, they reach lake Nipissing, which is about thirty-six miles long and about fifteen wide; but the track of canoes is much longer, as they must follow the coast.

"Out of this lake flows French River before mentioned, precipitating its flood over rocks of considerable height, called the Kettle Falls, which necessarily infers another portage, of which there are not less than five more in a distance of about 80 miles to the entrance of lake Huron."

It is by this route it has been supposed general Procter would attempt to make his escape. Indeed, it was stated that the people of Malden had actually sent off their most valuable effects to reach Montreal that way. But this channel, as well as the route through the lakes, is closed by Perry's victory; as Huron, on the fall of Malden, must own the sovereignty of the "striped bunting," as the English in derision called our flag.

Lake MICHIGAN communicates with Huron by the streights of Michilimackinac, which are about 5 miles long. This lake is entirely embosomed within the United States, which are separated from the British possessions by an imaginary line drawn through the middle of lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, &c. The length of Michigan, from north to south, is estimated at 280 miles, and the breadth between 60 and 70, and it has about the same depth of water as Huron. The island of Michilimackinac. on which stands the village and fort of that name, is situate near the entrance of the streight from Huron, being about 7 miles in circumference, and four miles distant from the nearest land. It abounds with excellent water, and is high and healthy; rising to the centre "as to resemble when you approach it, a turtle's back, from whence it derives its name, Michilimackinac, or the Turtle." The fort is handsomely situated and commands the harbor, which is a beautiful bason of water, 5 or 6 fathoms deep, well sheltered from the winds. The village contained about 300 inhabitants in 1810, chiefly French Canadians; and a very brisk trade was carried on with the neighboring Indians. The export of furs in 1804 was valued at \$238,936, and the duties received on goods imported from the British possessions, were \$60,000. It was in a very flourishing situation when the enemy possessed themselves of it last year, before the declaration of war was known to our commandant. hostile force came from St. Joseph's, a post about 40 miles north, situate at the foot of the streights of St. Marie, through which the waters of lake Superior are discharged into Huron. St. Joseph's was held chiefly as a place of observation on Michilimackinac; which latter the British gave up with great reluctance by Jay's treaty in 1794 though they had conditioned to do it, immediately, in 1783, ten years before. Chicago, or fort Dearborn, famous for the murder of its garrison about a year since by the allies, is near the foot, or south end of Michigan, nearly 250 miles from Michilimackinac, and was the only post or settlement we had on the shores of the lake.

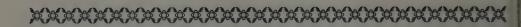
St. Joseph's was garrisoned by two companies of Canadians and a few regulars. It is assailable by water. The streights of St. Marie are 40 miles long, and so rapid that they cannot be ascended, even by canoes,

though the descent is safe, if the pilots are good. As it is not probable that any military operation will be carried on on lake SUPERIOR, we defer an account of it at present.

Niles' Register, October 2, 1813, vol. 5, pp. 65-66.

The lakes—We are daily becoming better acquainted with the many interesting particulars that belong to these inland seas. The winds upon them appear much more uncertain than they are on the ocean; and they are also more subject to storms. The U. S. schooner Chippeway sailed from Put-in-Bay for Malden, on the 10th ult.—within a few miles of Detroit River she parted with her anchor and was driven with great impetuosity and danger down to the lower end of the lake, under her bare poles, near Buffalo, where she beached. The crew and passengers were all saved but one, who left the vessel and attempted to make the shore on an oar; and a considerable quantity of baggage was lost, but the schooner was got off without much damage. All the rest of our vessels were in safe harbor. The lake rose nearly eight feet. The Buffalo paper says that while the storm raged many water spouts were observed on the lake, "one of which was very large, and the others smaller. The first appearance was like a whirlwind on the water, which raised a spray of a large diameter to a considerable distance in the air, from the top of which was seen to rise a column of water increasing in size until it was lost among the clouds.

Niles' Register, November 6, 1813, vol. 5, p. 172.



Marine Intelligence of Other Days

WESTERN WATERS

A meeting has been held in Cincinnati, on the subject of the improvement of western waters, and it was resolved to memorialize Congress on the subject. — The Gazette remarks:

"We hope our sister cities on the Lakes and along the Western Rivers, everywhere, will make a similar movement, and that the leading press of the West, especially that portion of it at the seats of government of the various States, will urge our Legislatures to act promptly on the subject.

It is time that we should present a bold front, and take a decided stand, as regards these great interests. We have the power if we are united. Let that union be manifested this winter, and we shall have more attention paid to our home affairs both by our own representatives, and the representatives of the Union.

The partly constructed Lake harbors are many of them going rapidly to destruction, and at many important, feasible points, particularly on Lake Michigan, no Government works have been commenced. By union and energetic action on the part of Western members of Congress something may be obtained for the improvement of the harbors and rivers of the west the present session; but to bring this desirable result about, the people, and especially those directly interested in commercial pursuits, must take hold of the matter zealously — must hold public meetings in the cities and villages, embody statistics, get up petitions, circulate them faithfully, and send them early to their Representatives at Washington. Talking about harbors and doing nothing, will effect just nothing.

We are glad to see the press of the Lake country from Chicago to Buffalo agitating the subject. The last Ashtabula Sentinel enquires:

How is it with the citizens of Ashtabula county? Do not our harbors need improvements, and shall we not make known our wants to Congress

by pouring in petitions for an appropriation. We are aware that Mr. Giddings, and other members of Congress, are deeply interested in this matter, and will do all they can to secure an appropriation, but that is not sufficient — the people themselves must speak upon the subject, and they must speak aloud in a manner that shall not be misunderstood.

The Conneaut and Ashtabula harbors are both in a very bad condition, and unless there is something done for them soon, they will afford but feeble protection to the seamen in the hour of danger, — they will be of but little service to our citizens, and the improvements already made must be lost. It is so with nearly all of the harbors on the 2000 miles coast. Is it not important then that we should make known the interest we take in these great works? We think it is, and we need not be fearful of being about it too soon.

We would also call upon the people of Trumbull county, many of whom are equally interested with our own people in Conneaut and Ashtabula harbors, to unite with us in accomplishing that which the whole lake country are equally interested in, namely good and safe harbors.

-Cleveland Weekly Herald, December 6, 1843.

THE LAKE SUPERIOR COPPER ROCK

This great mineral marvel has reached Washington, and is now deposited in the Patent Office for the inspection of the curious.

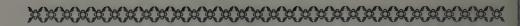
-Cleveland Weekly Herald, December 6, 1843.

THE James Madison

The James Madison, Steamer, is expected daily in our harbor. We hope she will not much longer disappoint those who have been engaged "doing nothing else" but looking for her for two days past. What an interesting employment it must be to look for a steamboat!

-Chicago Daily Journal, April 11, 1845.

-Captain John.



GREAT LAKES CALENDAR

By BERTRAM B. LEWIS

SEPTEMBER, 1950

Orders for four huge iron ore carriers and a railroad carferry were placed with Great Lakes area shipyards. Of the ore vessels, two were to be built for the Columbia Transportation Company, one for the Interlake Steamship Company, and the fourth for the Cleveland-Cliffs Steamship Company. This brought the number of vessels for carrying raw materials to steel mills ordered since the start of the Korean war to eight, with more new ships on the drawing boards. The carferry was the second to be ordered in three months by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. The new construction and routine winter repairs assured the shipyards of their busiest period since early in World War II.

SEPTEMBER, 1950

The foreign freighter *Heika* cleared South Chicago with 69,600 bushels of corn for Ireland. A veteran Cleveland grain man said it was the first such shipment to that country from the lakes in his memory.

OCTOBER, 1950

The Canadian steamer *Hochelaga* established a new Great Lakes coal-loading record when 19,678.9 net tons were poured into her hold at Ashtabula for delivery to the Steel Company of Canada at Hamilton, Ontario. Three hundred and nine carloads went to make up the cargo. The old record was 18,522.9 tons set by the steamer *Lemoyne* in 1948. Both ships belonged to Canada Steamship Lines, Ltd.

OCTOBER, 1950

The 44-year-old sandsucker John McKerchey sank off Lorain harbor in a calm sea after taking water into her forepeak. The 19 crew members of the ship, owned by the Kelley Island Lime & Transport Company, escaped in lifeboats, but Captain Horace S. Johnson of Monroe, Michigan, who stayed aboard to try to beach the craft, lost his life. The ship was later abandoned by her owners.

OCTOBER, 1950

The Pioneer Steamship Company of Cleveland placed an order with the Defoe Shipbuilding Company of Bay City, Michigan for a new 640-foot iron ore carrier of the type of the "superdupers" built for the Pittsburgh Steamship Company in 1942. The new vessel was to be operated by Hutchinson & Company.

OCTOBER, 1950

The Ninth District Coast Guard was installing a number of XRA (experimental radar) buoys at strategic points on the Great Lakes. These markers were similar to ordinary buoys except that they had pyramid-shaped steel pockets designed to reflect radar signals from ships.

OCTOBER, 1950

Great Lakes vessel companies had applied to purchase a total of 14 war surplus ships from the government following passage by Congress of legislation permitting the sale of 10 vessels from the mothball fleet to encourage the re-establishment of package freight service on the lakes.

November, 1950

The largest fresh water tanker in the world, the *Imperial Leduc*, was launched at Collingwood, Ontario, with a sistership, the *Imperial Redwater*, to slide down the ways at Port Arthur, Ontario later in the month. With a season capacity of 5,000,000 barrels of crude oil, the tankers were to carry it to Ontario refineries from Superior, Wisconsin, eastern terminus of a 1,127-mile pipeline from Alberta oil fields.

November, 1950

The tug Carport and tanker barge G-1, built at Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, left Chicago on their maiden voyage to New York City, by way of the barge canal. The barge-and-power unit was the first of its type ever built, and the cargo of corn and soybean oil was believed to be the first dry-liquid cargo ever carried on the lakes. The barge was built with a great V in her stern, large enough to accommodate four-fifths of the tug's length. The voyage was said to mark the first of a barge to be pushed, instead of towed, by a tug on the lakes. The barge's stern was designed and reinforced so that even in heavy seas the tug rose and fell with the other ship. The craft belonged to Cargo Carriers, Inc., Cleveland subsidiary of Cargill, Inc. of Minneapolis.

November, 1950

The largest and costliest vessel ever built on inland waters, a 690-foot iron ore carrier, was ordered for the M. A. Hanna Company fleet and was to be built by the American Ship Building Company at Lorain. The ship, as yet unnamed, was to be 12 feet longer than the huge Wilfred Sykes, launched at the same yard a year earlier for the Inland Steel Company. Designed for a maximum capacity of 20,500 tons at a top draft of more than 25 feet, the carrier was to be used almost exclusively in the ore trade between the head of Lake Superior and Detroit, Cleveland and Ashtabula. Cost of the coal burner, to be propelled by a turbine developing 7,000 horsepower, with stoker-fed boilers, was estimated at around \$6,000,000.

November, 1950

The motor vessel *Torsholm*, built in Landskrona, Sweden, for the Swedish American Line, was on her maiden voyage into the Great Lakes.

NOVEMBER, 1950

The Norwegian tramp steamer *Lillgunvor* loaded 1,000 tons of powdered milk, gift of the United States government for relief purposes, at Cleveland for transportation to the Catholic Church in Rome by way of Naples. Similar shipments totaling several thousand tons had been dispatched to other European church groups from other Great Lakes ports earlier in the season.



NOTES

About Mr. Metcalf

R. CLARENCE S. METCALF, Director of the Cleveland Public Library and Executive Vice President of the Great Lakes Historical Society, retired from his library position on November 30th. With more leisure available he looks forward with the keenest delight to having more time for what has long been his favorite project, the Great Lakes Historical Society.

Mr. Metcalf has been a lover of the lakes and their history all his life; his home overlooks Lake Erie, and he has owned boats and spent many vacations on the lakes, particularly at Put-In-Bay.

It was his wise perception of the need of an organization such as ours to record Great Lakes history for lakes enthusiasts, men of the lakes, writers and scholars of the future that sparked the idea of G. L. H. S. His pride and joy in its favorable reception and growth are unbounded and his enthusiasm and knowledge of the lakes have aided inestimably the publication of INLAND SEAS.

His many friends in the Society who have known him either in person or through his voluminous correspondence relative to Great Lakes affairs will want to extend sincere good wishes for days of rest, and relaxation in the pursuit of lore of the lakes and the concerns of G. L. H. S.

-D. L. R.

Mr. Landon Retires

A T THE END OF MAY, 1950, Mr. Fred Landon retired from the vice-presidency of the University of Western Ontario at London, having arrived at retirement age. He was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters (D. Lett.) by his own university and the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) by Mc-Master University at Hamilton, Ontario. He has now been appointed Chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

He will continue to give his able assistance and wise counsel as Advisory Editor of INLAND SEAS; in fact hopes to do more

since his time is freer. Mr. Landon has taken the chief responsibility for making the Great Lakes Historical Society known in Canada, for securing many of our Canadian members and in locating manuscripts for publication as well as writing them. Without his editorial advice, steady encouragement and continued enthusiasm for INLAND SEAS, the task of editing and publishing it would have been infinitely harder.

The Society offers him our sincere congratulations on his new honors and best wishes for the days ahead.

-D. L. R.

With Deepest Regret

It is with a great sense of personal loss that we report that on October 25, 1950, Mr. Owen N. Wilcox, owner and publisher, of The Gates Legal Publishing Company, who print INLAND SEAS, met his death in a tragic motor accident. A scholar and author in his own right, not only was he a member of the Great Lakes Historical Society, but he had personally supervised full details in the publication of the magazine and took the keenest interest and pride in its contents and appearance. Mr. Wilcox both gave wise counsel to the editor and with greatest generosity devoted hours of his own time

to problems of publication.

We know and have been assured that his sons who were associated with him will continue to print INLAND SEAS with special interest and care, but the Society has lost one of its most loyal supporters and the editor a valued and helpful friend in the passing of this true gentleman and modest scholar.

The Manitoba

THE WHEEL of the C. P. R. steamer Manitoba, which is at present being scrapped at the plant of the Steel Company of Canada in Hamilton, has been presented to the City of Owen Sound, where the vessel was built in 1889, and will be placed in the City Hall. The wheel is a fine piece of craftsmanship, being constructed of oak and walnut and

bound heavily with brass. The presentation to the City was made by Mr. T. C. Wilkes, assistant purchasing agent of the Steel Company, at a function in Owen Sound, the gift being received by Chairman J. Fred Brown of the Harbor and Transportation Committee of the Board of Trade.

-F. L.

C. H. Richardson

REAT LAKES HISTORICAL SOCIETY deeply regrets the loss of one of its earliest and most interested members in the death of Mr. C. H. Richardson of Sandusky. A frequent contributor to our files, he had been general passenger agent for the Canadian Steamer Pelee for 14 years, former commander of Commodore Denig Post, No. 83, American Legion and a former executive secretary of the Sandusky Chamber of Commerce.

Rare Gift

THE GREAT LAKES HISTORICAL SOCIETY is most grateful to Mr. Baird Tewksbury of the Midland Steamship Company for his gift of a beautifully bound copy of Lloyd's Steamboat Disasters on the Western Waters, Philadelphia, 1856.

Members of the society well know the wealth of data on shipping and railroads contained in this volume, a rare and valuable addition to our growing gift collection of books on the Great Lakes.

—THE EDITOR

And So a Town Was Born and Grew Great

CHIHE SUBJECT of a new town on the east side of the river had been discussed by Major Britain, Thos. Conger, the Mortons and others for years, all feeling confident it would materialize at some time. However, it was never seriously considered until after the indifferent spirit manifested by the citizens of St. Joseph towards the building of the St. Joseph river bridge and the agitation aroused by Mr. Sterne Brunson in 1859 advocating that a start be made at once to build a ship canal through the marsh up to high ground where could be built a town. After much consultation by the very few residents on the east side of the river, a committee of three was appointed to go to Chicago and try to find some contractor who would undertake the work. This committee consisted of H. C. Morton, Charles Hull and Sterne Brunson. The result of several trips to Chicago by the committee was a contract entered into in the spring of 1860 with Mr. Martin Green, a dredge owner of Chicago, to build a ship canal 50 feet wide and 10 feet deep from the St. Joseph river easterly to the section line between Benton and St. Joseph townships, Mr. Green agreeing to accept as payments a small amount of money (all that could be raised) a large amount of land, feed for stock, and timber, or anything that could be converted into money. The citizens of the surrounding country led by the Canal Committee of three agreed to the terms, also agreeing to furnish fuel for the dredge and tug."—From J. S. Morton's history of Benton Harbor.

That, dear readers of 1950, was the beginning of Benton Harbor — 90 long years ago.

The canal was dug and finished. It put Benton Harbor on Lake Micigan. It brought lumber schooners and other commercial sailing craft to the local docks. Out of it too, a generation later, came the great fleet of Graham & Morton steamers that really brought thousands of excursionists to these shores, supplied an impetus to fruit growing because cheap and fast transportation across the lake to Chicago was thus developed and in numerous other ways fed the commercial channels of the then hustling community "on the east side of the river."

From The Benton Harbor News-Palladium, October 23, 1950. Submitted by George Vargo of Benton Harbor, Michigan.

Santa Claus Is Coming To Town

MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY visiting Chicago during November, 1949, noted a strange name in the daily newspaper listing of vessel arrivals and departures, the S. S. Santa Claus. name does not appear in any of the usual vessel directories such as the Red Book and some investigation was therefore necessary to discover the true identity of the ship in question. It developed that it was really our old friend, the Paterson Line's Soreldoc, disguised as the Santa Claus by means of flags, streamers, bells, candy canes, wreaths and Christmas trees, all befitting a vessel for the use of St. Nicholas himself.

The occasion for this was the opening the Christmas shopping season in Chicago's many large department stores, this trip for Santa Claus on a ship named for him being arranged by the Chicago Santa Claus was accom-Daily News. panied by Bob Hope, members of the Chicago White Socks baseball team, numerous entertainers and many other attendants. As the Santa Claus sailed down the Chicago River from the Michigan Avenue Bridge to the Daily News Plaza, Santa's helpers showered the throngs of children and adults lining the bank on either side with baseballs, footballs and toy balloons.

-Lawrence A. Pomeroy, Jr.

Lonely Island's Lofty Light

HEN ADMIRAL HENRY WOLSEY Bayfield christened Lonely Island he displayed foresight. Well over a century has passed, and not only the present generation is unaware of its existence but fully ninety per cent of Georgian Bay's summer visitors as well. Besides bearing the Bay's loftiest lighthouse it is the most solitary of its islands which actually number over 100,000.

Nevertheless, Lonely Island is shown on all school maps of Ontario and, of course, with more detail on the charts used for navigation. Located 24 miles north of the Bruce Peninsula and 15 miles east of Manitoulin Island, its north end 138-foot cliff was chosen in 1870 as the site for the 52-foot white octagonal wooden lighthouse. The lantern shows a quick flashing white light shining from a height of 195 feet above the water and visible for 23 miles in a northerly direction.

Lonely Island is unique because its light-house is "one-way." It is obscured by forest trees through the southern compass degrees and is useful, therefore, only to vessels approaching from the north. The island is almost circular, the greatest diameter being two miles. The lighthouse stands on the edge of the cliff, 300 yards back from the island's northern extremity. A small landing jetty extends from the point 300 yards northeast of the lighthouse and 100 yards from this jetty is the keeper's dwelling.

Dangerous shoals surround the island except on the south and one quarter of a mile off shore the depth does not exceed 18 feet. No one lives on the island except the lighthouse staff during the sea-

son of navigation. Mr. E. Rousseau is the present light-keeper.

In 1944 an automatic acetylene gun was installed at this lighthouse. It fires one shot every minute to warn any vessel that might approach the surrounding shoals during fog. The acetylene gas is under pressure in a tank and is piped to the gun. The compressed gas is flintignited, the flint being mounted on a knurled wheel which is rotated by a system of levers as a result of gas pressure on a built-in diaphragm. The apparatus has no advantage over a diaphone, the latter being more audible.

Because of its isolation and warning light, the island has never been the scene of a wreck for either a schooner or steamer. Fifty years ago and less it was well known to all tug crews towing rafts from the North Channel where magnificent stands of red and white pine grew on the mainland. Each season over a dozen large rafts were assembled for the long haul to Victoria Harbor, Midland or Penetanguishene. The rate of progress averaged one mile an hour, day and night.

Fear of sudden storms always haunted the tug crews and they remained on the alert for the well-known signs of a "blow" that, at the worst, might scatter no fewer than 75,000 logs over the broad expanse of Georgian Bay. On this account, all captains charted their course with foresight via Lonely Island where they could choose a well-sheltered lee quarter to ride out a storm, no matter from what compass point the wind blew. In this way the isolated island annually saved large sums for the lumbermen.

-W. R. WILLIAMS.

This Month's Contributors

CAPTAIN JOHN is H. A. MUSHAM, a retired naval architect of Chicago.

HOMER M. BEATTIE is president of the Firelands Historical Society at Sandusky, Ohio.

ANDREW T. BROWN, a graduate of the University of Michigan, holds an M.A. degree from Western Reserve University and is continuing his study of history at the University of Chicago.

BERTRAM B. LEWIS is Marine Editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer whose column on the Great Lakes appears daily. He edits selected news items for the Great Lakes Calendar of INLAND SEAS.

WILLIAM J. TARRANT is chemist for the city of Saginaw, Michigan. His interest in the Great Lakes began when he was skipper of the motor sea scout ship Vigilant in 1948. Now he collects marine photographs and travels to lake ports in pursuit of his hobby FRED W. DUTTON who reviews "All the Ships at Sea" in this issue is Chief Clerk in the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Law Department. He usually spends his vacations at the wheel of a Great Lakes freighter.

GEORGE A. VARGO of Benton Harbor, Michigan, is a Great Lakes photographer and collector.

WALLACE B. WHITE is a former newspaper and advertising man whose personal hobby is Firelands history.

W. R. WILLIAMS of Penetanguishene, Ontario, writes frequently for Georgian Bay newspapers and has previously written articles for INLAND SEAS.

WILLIAM F. ZORNOW whose previous article Confederate Raiders on Lake Erie appeared in INLAND SEAS, Spring and Summer issues, Vol. 5, Nos. 1 & 2, 1949, is now on the teaching staff at Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.

Correction

INLAND SEAS is indebted to Mr. William A. McDonald of Detroit for correcting an error in the Fall, 1950, issue. He says:

"The St. Louis shown in the picture section, p. 174, is not the steamer mentioned in Mr. Williams' article, "A Great Lakes Excursion," p. 153. The St. Louis on which the excursionists rode in 1847 must have been the sidewheel steamboat that was built at Perrysburg, Ohio, in 1844. The St. Louis pictured is a propeller built at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1864 by Peck and Masters.

Apparently the St. Louis (1844) was not running on a regular schedule in 1847. Who owned her at that time or between 1844 and 1851, I do not know. In 1851 she was bought by Samuel and Eber Ward and was placed on the De-

troit and Cleveland run in 1852. In November of that year she was totally wrecked in a storm on Lake Erie, near Kelley's Island.

The St. Louis (1864) was one of the fleet owned by the Union Steamboat Company and ran to Lake Superior ports until 1886 when she was sold and cut down to a steam barge for the lumber trade. In 1906 her machinery was removed and she became a tow barge, lasting until February 28, 1914, when she stranded at Cape Vincent, N. Y., and became a total loss."

Subscribers who keep INLAND SEAS for future reference may wish to insert the correction below the picture on page 174. We regret the mistake, but welcome this and any other corrections from our readers.

—THE EDITOR.

The Great Lakes in Print

An index to magazine articles and notes on the Great Lakes which have appeared in current periodicals not exclusively devoted to the lakes.

Detroit Trust Company Quarterly, Autumn, 1950, pp. 10-11. Storm Warning, by R. A. Emberg.

Journal of Geography, October, 1950, pp. 263-269. Chicago's Coal: Its Origin, Movement to Market and Use, by Arthur H. Doerr.

Michigan Conservation, July-August, 1950, pp. 18-20. Sea Lamprey Control, by James W. Moffett.

September-October, 1950, pp. 7-10, 25-26. Great Lakes Fisheries, by Spencer M. Bower.

Michigan History, September, 1950, pp. 224-244. The Lake Superior Copper Fever, 1841-47 (continued from June, 1950), by Robert James Hybels; pp. 245-248, The Old Presque Isle Lighthouse, by Matt Lagerberg.

Motor Boating, November, 1950, pp. 28-29, 86. Put-In-Bay: A Picturesque Port on the Great Lakes, by R. G. Myers.

National Geographic Magazine, September, 1950, pp. 323-366. Sea to Lakes on the St. Lawrence, by George W. Long, B. Anthony Stewart and John E. Fletcher.

Nautical Gazette, August, 1950, pp. 22-25. Ice Breaking Ferry for Lake Michigan.

November, 1950, pp. 14-15, 41-42. Milwaukee's Bid for Heavy Cargo, by H. C. Brockel. (About the largest heavylift gantry crane on the entire Great Lakes.)

Ohio Motorist, July, 1950, pp. 15-16. Lure of a Great Lakes Cruise, by S. E. Sangster.

Pennsylvania Angler, September, 1950, pp. 849. The Sea Lamprey in the Waters of Lake Erie, by G. L. Trembley and E. F. Westlake, Jr.

Reader's Digest, November, 1950, pp. 73-76. The World's Busiest Waterway, by Michael Costello.

Skillings' Mining Review, June 24, 1950, pp. 1-2. Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co. Marks Centennial in Iron Ore Mining.

July 15, 1950, pp. 1, 5. Two Large Tankers Being Built for Lake Service.

August 19, 1950, p. 1. Republic Iron Mine History, by David N. Skillings.

September 2, 1950, pp. 1, 4. Great Northern Railway Co. Iron Ore Loading Docks.

Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1950, pp. 479-484. Philip Hone, Wisconsin Land Speculator, by Mentor L. Williams.

World Oil, August, 1950, pp. 240, 242, 244. Edmonton-Great Lakes Pipe Line under Construction.

Yachting, October, 1950, pp. 46, 90. 57th Regatta of the Inter-Lake Y. A.



Book Reviews

ALL THE SHIP'S AT SEA, by William J. Lederer. New York, N. Y., William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1950. \$3.00.

Once in awhile somebody writes a book from his heart, in simple, plain talk and with homely manner of expression, that draws you right into the mood of the author and makes you feel as though you were living the story with him. Anyone who has served in the Army or Navy or the Merchant Marine knows that on rare occasions you will run across a master story-teller who can spin a tale to the Queen's taste, and make you sort of sit back on your stool in the mess room or the barracks with a kind of a little ripple of delightful anticipation running up and down your spine as you wait for the story to unfold. These are the unsung bards of modern times. You won't run across that kind of fellow very often. But when you do, you'll know that you are fortunate. And it doesn't make any difference whether the tale is true or mere fabrication. The only thing you know, or care about, is that the story-teller's tales are magic—in short, the guy is good!

All the Ship's at Sea concerns the author's life in the U. S. Navy, commencing as a hospital apprentice at the Newport Naval Training Station. It relates the manner in which he secured an appointment to the Naval Academy by "using his head," and it carries him along (with incidental garnishment by way of naval folk-lore) up the promotional ladder to the command of his own ship. And then he has the misfortune to be involved in a collision, followed by court-martial, which finds him guilty. The court-martial was thrown out upon review, but he knows he will never command

another ship.

The author has written his story simply and without bragging, with a leavening faculty of not taking himself too seriously. It is authentic — a mixture of real life in the Navy and Naval scuttlebutt, the unrealistic realism of Naval warfare, comedy, pathos, pink panties, and a dash of sociology tossed in for free. You'll recognize, from your own experience, characters such as "Leo-the-Lion" Ridd and Captain Blippo Burke. And perhaps you will profit by the author's advice to those who think they can do housework more efficiently than their women-folks:

"It's okay to say that women are immoral or that they drink too much or that they're venom-tongued. You can get away with that. But don't, if you're a male, stick your nose into the intricacies of housekeeping. Even though most ladies keep house in a criminally inefficient manner, they won't tolerate your telling them how to improve."

There's a man after your own heart. Here is no stuffed-shirt Naval officer. Here you have a book that will make you chuckle with glee — and sometimes wrench your heart if you are a sailor who knows the feel of a ship — your ship — under your feet.

-F. W. D.

SHERMAN HOYT'S MEMOIRS, by C. Sherman Hoyt. New York, Toronto, D. Van Company, 1950. \$5.00.

"Mr. Yachtsman" is a title which might fairly be awarded to Sherman Hoyt, whose experience with yachts goes back more than sixty years, and includes a voyage around

the Horn, and the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

A grandnephew of General Sherman, Hoyt gives interesting glimpses of his distinguished relative. He never would use a telephone, calling it "an instrument of the devil." He may have had something there! Once, while driving the youngster past Grant's Tomb, he burst out into violent profanity. Meekly asking what was the matter, Hoyt was told, "Don't you know we are passing Grant's Tomb, the greatest military genius this country has ever produced? He was accused of being a drunkard and I of being insane, but when they let us, between us we won the Civil War. Now damn it, take off your hat!"

The most significant part of Hoyt's reminiscences is his detailed account of the America's Cup Races from 1893 to 1937, in which he was an active consultant. He discusses the famous quarrel of 1893, when Lord Dunraven, the British challenger, concluded that he had been unfairly treated and withdrew his Valkyrie. He does not defend Dunraven's bad temper, but thinks that he had some justification.

Sir Thomas Lipton's five challenges receive much attention. He liked Lipton very much, but was amused by his obvious eagerness to benefit his business by getting all the publicity he could. An appropriate close to the Cup Race period of Hoyt's life came with the victories of the Ranger, of which he says, "Rarely more than once in several decades does there appear in the yachting picture a craft as markedly superior to her predecessors and contemporaries as Ranger proved."

The Bermuda to Cuxhaven race of 1936 is described at length. His Roland von

Bremen finished eighth in twenty-seven contenders.

Altogether a most readable volume, full of the tang of salt water and the good fellowship of yachtsmen of all nationalities.

--G. W. T.

THE EYES OF DISCOVERY, THE PAGEANT OF NORTH AMERICA AS SEEN BY THE FIRST EXPLORERS, by John Bakeless. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1950. \$5.00.

Much of Great Lakes interest is found in this narrative of the explorers from Columbus to Lewis and Clark who gradually added to the knowledge of the continent from Atlantic to Pacific. Mr. Bakeless, who had previously written on subjects as far afield as Economic Causes of Modern War and Christopher Marlowe, was perhaps led to this new topic by his previous book on the Lewis and Clark expedition up the Missouri to the coast.

Wisely he concentrates on the less familiar stories. New to most readers will be Pierre Gautier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century he was stationed at a trading post on Lake Nipigon. Seeking a route to the Pacific, he visited Mackinac, and from the Jesuit stationed there got encouragement for his journey. On his quest he visited Lake Winnipeg, discovered the Assiniboin River, entered the Mandan country and may even have reached Wyoming. He certainly visited Pierre, South Dakota, where a metal plaque bearing Vérendrye's name has been found and now is the prize possession of the South Dakota Historical Society.

--G. W. T.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

(Title 39, United States Code, Section 233)

Of INLAND SEAS published Quarterly (Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter) at Cleveland, Ohio for October 1, 1950.

- 1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Great Lakes Historical Society, 325 Superior Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio; Editor and Managing editor, Donna L. Root, 325 Superior Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio; Business manager, None.
- 2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partner-ship or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) The Great Lakes Historical Society, 325 Superior Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
- 3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.
- 4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.
- 5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

DONNA L. ROOT,

Editor and Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1950.

[SEAL]

LEO P. JOHNSON (My commission expires November 9, 1951.)

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Compiled by Gertrude M. Robertson

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